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GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

By-election and State of the Parties

Details of the result of a recent by-election and the present state of the parties in the House of Commons are given below.

The Conservative Party retained the seat at Hertfordshire South-West in a parliamentary by-election on 13 December 1979. The seat became vacant when the Conservative MP, Mr Geoffrey Dodsworth, resigned from Parliament for health reasons. The Conservative candidate, Mr Richard Page, won by a majority of 6,772.

The results were as follows:

R. Page (Conservative)	17,031
S. Reeves (Labour)	10,259
D. Clouston (Liberal)	8,752

Three other candidates who between them received 1,433 votes all lost their deposits. Some 48 per cent of the electorate voted.

State of the Parties

Following the by-election and the death in December 1979 of Sir Stephen McAdden, Conservative MP for Southend East, the state of the parties in the House of Commons is as follows:

Conservative	336
Labour	267
Liberal	11
Scottish National	2
Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalist)	2
Official Unionist (Northern Ireland)	5
Democratic Unionist (Northern Ireland)	3
United Ulster Unionist (Northern Ireland)	1
Ulster Unionist (Northern Ireland)	1
Independent Socialist (Northern Ireland)[1]	1
Independent (Northern Ireland)	1
Vacant seat	1
TOTAL	631

The four remaining seats are held by the Speaker of the House of Commons and his three deputies who do not vote except in their official capacity in the event of a tie. The Government majority over all other parties is 42.

[1]Mr Gerard Fitt, formerly leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (see p 360, 1979).

Recent Legislation

The public Acts passed between 22 October 1979 when Parliament reassembled after the summer adjournment and the start of the Christmas recess on 21 December are listed below.

Charging Orders Act 1979. Reforms the law on charging orders in order to help both creditor and debtor by providing new ways of recovering debts. Royal Assent: 6.12.79. Ch 53, ISBN 0 10 545379 X, HMSO, 50p.

Consolidated Fund (No 2) Act 1979. Gives parliamentary authority for sums to be issued out of the Consolidated Fund to meet the Government's expenditure requirements. Royal Assent: 20.12.79. Ch 56, ISBN 0 10 545679 9, HMSO, 10p.

European Communities (Greek Accession) Act 1979 (see p 321). Royal Assent: 20.12.79. Ch 57, ISBN 0 10 545779 5, HMSO, 10p.

Isle of Man Act 1979. Makes provision for the Isle of Man to assume responsibility for its own customs and excise administration from 1 April 1980. Royal Assent: 20.12.79. Ch 58, ISBN 0 10 545879 1, HMSO, 80p.

Justices of the Peace Act 1979. Consolidates and amends certain legislation relating to justices of the peace, justices' clerks and the administrative and financial arrangements for magistrates' courts. Royal Assent: 6.12.79. Ch 55, ISBN 0 10 545579 2, HMSO, £1·75.

Sale of Goods Act 1979. Consolidates the law relating to the sale of goods. Royal Assent: 6.12.79. Ch 54, ISBN 0 10 545479 6, HMSO, £1·50.

Shipbuilding Act 1979. Raises the borrowing limits specified in the Aircraft and Shipbuilders Industries Act 1977 in relation to the finances of British Shipbuilders and its wholly owned subsidiaries; and extends the application of certain aid available under the Industry Act 1972 to include the alteration of completed and partially constructed

ships and mobile offshore installations. Royal Assent: 20.12.79. Ch 59, ISBN 0 10 545979 8, HMSO, 10p.

Southern Rhodesia Act 1979 (see p 364, 1979). Royal Assent: 14.11.79. Ch 52, ISBN 0 10 545279 3, HMSO, 20p.

Zimbabwe Act 1979. Provides for the establishment of the independent republic of Zimbabwe. Royal Assent: 20.12.79. Ch 60, ISBN 0 10 546079 6, HMSO, 70p.

Northern Ireland

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has reviewed the security situation in the Province and reaffirmed the Government's intention 'to work relentlessly' for an end to violence. The leaders of three of the four main political parties in Northern Ireland are attending a conference with the Secretary of State which began on 7 January 1980 in Belfast (see pp 359-60, 1979). The Government has expressed the hope that a way will be found to transfer powers back to local politicians and institutions.

In a contribution to a Press Association New Year feature on the past decade in Northern Ireland Mr Humphrey Atkins, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, reiterated his intention to work relentlessly for an end to violence and to seek the achievement of stable political institutions through which the people of the Province could once more play a significant part in their own affairs. He said that he could not claim as the 1970s finished that an end to terrorism was in sight, but after a period of searching reappraisal on the security front the structures and techniques of the forces of law and order had been adjusted to provide a more efficient response to the changed tactics of the Provisional IRA. Contrary to popular belief the level of terrorism in the last few years was considerably lower than in the first half of the decade but there would be no complacency in pursuing the men of violence.

Politically, the Government's plan to engage the main political parties in discussions together about the future government of the Province would take an important step forward early in 1980.[1] Three of the four main parties would for the first time in several years sit down together at a conference which he hoped would lead to the transfer of much of the power at present in his hands to local politicians and local institutions. [The conference began in Belfast on 7 January.]

[1]In the House of Commons on 20 December (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No 92, col 849) Mr Atkins said that the leaders of the Democratic Unionist Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Alliance Party had indicated their readiness to attend the conference.

Security

In a debate in the House of Commons on 11 December on the order to review for a further six months the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1978 Mr Atkins discussed the security situation in the Province (*Hansard*, Vol 975, No 85, cols 1093-1208). He said that, contrary to what many people believed to be the case, violence in 1979 had not been a great deal worse than it was in 1978. Some types of violence had increased in 1979 and in some areas, notably Armagh and Tyrone, there had been a marked increase in violence, but taking Northern Ireland as a whole, 1979 had seen only a slight upturn in violence. He said there had been some terrible incidents in 1979, including the killing of 18 soldiers at Warrenpoint on August Bank Holiday (see p 259, 1979). So far in 1979 104 people had lost their lives, 56 of them members of the security forces and nine of them members of the prison service. The Provisional IRA had 'concentrated its venom' on the security forces, and recently upon the prison service. In recent months there had been an increase in what appeared to be sectarian killings. Besides the continuing attacks on the security forces and prison officers, the co-ordinated bomb and incendiary attacks on 26 November showed that the Provisional IRA retained the ability to cause disruption and destruction. Of the 35 devices planted across the Province on that day, 12 were neutralised.

The Government remained fixed in its resolve to eliminate terrorism and to restore normal policing throughout Northern Ireland. The essence of the policy was that the Royal Ulster Constabulary, with the army in support where necessary, should bring terrorists to justice before the courts. Since the last debate on the renewal of the Act on 24 July 1979, 124 firearms and 20,000 rounds of ammunition had been recovered and 62 explosive devices had been neutralised – a measure of the terrorist crimes that had been prevented. Taking terrorists out of circulation through the processes of the law remained the only means of combating terrorism. So far in 1979, 625 people had been charged with terrorist offences, 44 of them with murder and 34 with attempted murder. Up to the end of November, 805 people had been convicted of terrorist offences, including 52 of murder and 16 of attempted murder.

Mr Atkins referred to the 'encouraging recruiting trend' in the Royal Ulster Constabulary following the raising of the target strength of the force from 6,500 to 7,500 (see p 259, 1979). This was being matched by other improvements in the capability of the force: the vehicle fleet was being steadily increased; a very advanced teleprinter system had been commissioned; a modern command computer system was due to be operational in 1980; and a substantial building programme was in hand. The Chief Constable had at his command a thriving and modern police force well equipped to fight terrorism but still mindful of its own responsibilities to the community.

New Chief Constable and GOC

Mr Atkins paid tribute to the Chief Constable, Sir Kenneth Newman [who was succeeded on 1 January 1980 by Mr Jack Hermon]. He said that under Sir Kenneth's 'outstanding leadership' the morale of the force had remained high, notwithstanding the terrorist campaign. He also referred to the 'cool, determined efficiency and professional response of the Army' and of the impact that the General Officer Commanding, General Sir Timothy Creasey, had brought to the Army's work in Northern Ireland. [General Creasey was succeeded by Lieutenant General Sir Richard Lawson on 8 January.]

Suppression of Terrorism

Britain has signed an agreement among the members of the European Community to apply the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism to the Community.

The signing took place in Dublin on 4 December 1979 of an agreement to apply the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism among the nine European Community countries. Mr Leon Brittan, Minister of State at the Home Office, and Lord Mackay, the Scottish Lord Advocate, were signatories on behalf of the United Kingdom Government.

The main objects of the Convention are to eliminate or restrict the possibility of terrorists evading extradition by pleading that their crimes are political offences; to require contracting states refusing extradition of a terrorist to take jurisdiction to try him themselves on the principle of extradite or prosecute; and to ensure the widest measure of mutual assistance between contracting states in bringing terrorists to justice.

The Suppression of Terrorism Act was passed in June 1978 to enable the United Kingdom to ratify the European Convention. The Convention was ratified in July 1978 and it entered into force in Britain in the following October.

While in Dublin ministers of member states of the European Community considered the progress being made on the preparation of a draft convention on extradition among Community members.

New Hebrides

The Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides is to become independent in 1980. This is provided for in an exchange of notes between the British and French Governments on 23 October 1979, and follows agreement on an independence constitution at a constitutional conference held in Vila, the capital of the New Hebrides, in September 1979. The British Government was represented at the conference by Mr Peter Blaker, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The independence date will be determined in further consultations between the British, French and New Hebrides Governments.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Reporting on recent developments in the New Hebrides to the House of Commons in an adjournment debate on 7 December 1979 (*Hansard*, Vol 975, No 83, cols 876-86) Mr Blaker said that the division of the country along cultural, linguistic, religious and latterly political lines had, until recently, frustrated real progress towards independence. In July 1977 British and French ministers had met New Hebrides political leaders and drawn up plans for independence in 1980. In November 1977, however, the anglophone Vanuaaku Pati (Nationalist Party) boycotted elections to the Representative Assembly, leaving a predominantly francophone Assembly with anglophone interests largely excluded from the democratic process and committed to a policy of opposition to the lawfully elected Government (see p 7). To overcome this constitutional deadlock, the British and French Governments, after extensive consultations, proposed the establishment of a Government of National Unity in which francophone and anglophone interests would be equally represented, and which would be responsible for drafting an independence constitution and preparing for fresh elections on a basis acceptable to all political parties. This was formed in December 1978, and in March 1979 a constitutional committee was appointed to work out an independence constitution.

Independence Constitution

Under the constitution agreed at the constitutional conference in September 1979, Mr Blaker told the House, the New Hebrides will be a republic with an elected President as head of State. There will be a unicameral legislature, a Cabinet headed by a Prime Minister, and provisions for the protection of the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual, citizenship, the judicature and the public service. In addition, recognising that arrangements to safeguard the interests of minorities are essential in a country where a sense of national unity has still to be forged, there will be provision for regional assemblies for the islands of Santo and Tanno. All land in the republic will belong to the indigenous custom owners and their dependents. Parliament will be required to enact a national land law and to lay down criteria for the compensation of those whose interests may be adversely affected.

Elections

As had been agreed at the constitutional confer-

ence, Mr Blaker continued, universal adult suffrage elections were held for the Representative Assembly and the regional assemblies for the islands of Santo and Tanno on 14 November 1979. In these, the Vanuaaku Pati obtained 26 of the 39 seats in the Representative Assembly and also majorities in both the regional assemblies. The President of the Vanuaaku Pati, Father Walter Lini, was subsequently elected Chief Minister, and heads a Council of Ministers of eight members.

The elections, Mr Blaker said, were conducted in an orderly and peaceful manner, though there were some short-lived disturbances in the islands of Santo and Tanno following the announcement of the election results. The situation now, however, was calm and was expected to remain so.

Independence

Mr Blaker said that it was the firm intention of both the British and French Governments that the New Hebrides would become independent in 1980. The British Government looked forward to welcoming the new State to the international community as a member of the Commonwealth. It also hoped that it would retain equally close links with the community of French-speaking countries.

Pointing out that the New Hebrides was, economically, a poor country, Mr Blaker said that Britain's aid programme on independence would be generous and commensurate with its needs.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Situated in the south-western Pacific, the New Hebrides forms an irregular Y-shaped island chain some 800 km (500 miles) long. Its land area totals 14,800 sq km (5,700 sq miles). About 65 of the islands are populated, the total population, which is mainly Melanesian, numbering some 102,000. Vila, the capital, has a population of about 18,000. The official languages are English and French, but the lingua franca is Bislama, New Hebrides pidgin.

Much of the land is mountainous, and covered with natural forest, and cultivation is generally restricted to coastal plains and low plateaux. Population pressure is not as yet heavy enough to stimulate development of the interior where large areas are uninhabited, although there is now a tendency for landowners to develop bush land to a greater extent than before. Apart from subsistence gardening, the main economic activity is the growing of coconuts for making copra, the country's main export. Cocoa, frozen fish and frozen meat are the other main exports, while manganese is also exported. The tourism industry is developing steadily, with an increasing number of cruise ships calling at Vila.

Development projects, under the local development plan, are financed from local revenue or jointly from British and French development aid funds. These projects include agricultural development and training and improvement of communications, that is, roads, airports, air and marine navigational aids, radio, and a deep-water wharf at Vila. Additional development projects are financed entirely from British, or French, development aid funds. Major expenditure from these sources has been on education and health. British development assistance totalled £7·5 million in 1978, making a total of £24·8 million in the period 1974-78.

History

Although the Spanish explorer de Quiros established a short-lived settlement on Santo in 1606, little is known about the history of the New Hebrides group up to the latter part of the eighteenth century, when it was visited by a number of French and British navigators. The next century saw the arrival of British and French missionaries, planters and traders, many of whom settled in the group. For a time the islands suffered greatly from the depredations of sandalwood traders and from the activities of the so-called 'blackbirders' who recruited labour for the sugar plantations in Queensland and Fiji.

By the Anglo-French Convention of 1887, the British and French Governments, in order to protect the lives and property of their subjects resident in the New Hebrides, set up a joint Naval Commission. Resident Commissioners were appointed in 1902, and in 1906, following a conference in London, an Anglo-French Condominium was established providing for the joint administration of the group. This was superseded by the Anglo-French Protocol of 1914, ratified in 1922, which has, with some modifications, regulated the administration of the New Hebrides ever since.

Until 1978 the New Hebrides was governed by a joint administration, of which the joint and equal heads were the British and French Resident Commissioners acting respectively on behalf of the High Commissioners. It consisted of the Joint ('Condominium') Service, the British National Service, and the French National Service. The Resident Commissioners acted jointly in Condominium matters and normally concerted their decisions in subjects dealt with by their own National Services.

A Representative Assembly, replacing an Advisory Council which had been established in 1957, first met in June 1976 following the country's first national elections in November 1975. It was composed of 29 members elected by universal adult suffrage; eight members representing economic interests and elected by electoral colleges representing the Chamber of Commerce and the two co-operative federations; and four chiefs representing traditional interests. (The last did not take up their seats in the Assembly until the end of 1976.)

The Assembly was halted in early 1977 by a boycott by the Vanuaaku Pati, and this led to discussions on holding elections for a new Representative Assembly based entirely on universal suffrage. At further talks in Paris in July 1977, attended by the British and French Governments and New Hebrides political leaders, it was agreed that the elections should be held before December 1977, that internal self-government should follow in early 1978, and that there would be further elections and a referendum on the independence question. The Vanuaaku Pati did not attend the talks because of differences with the Condo-

minium Powers over the timing of self-government and the composition of the administration to be formed when that status was attained; and for these and other reasons later announced that it would boycott the elections to be held on 29 November. As a result of this non-participation, independent or opposition party candidates were declared elected unopposed for 38 of the 39 seats, with one seat remaining vacant. The Vanuaaku Pati then declared a 'People's Provisional Government'.

At the new Assembly's first meeting in December 1977, it elected its own chairman, replacing the Resident Commissioners who had jointly chaired the previous Assembly, and a Chief Minister. A Council of Ministers was established in January 1978, and measures were set in train to unite the British, French and Condominium Services within a New Hebrides Public Service. The functions for which the British National Service was responsible were transferred to the New Hebrides Public Service in April 1979.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE

The West in the 1980s: Prime Minister's Speech

The challenges which will face the West in 'the dangerous decade' of the 1980s and the need for self-confidence in dealing with them were discussed by the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in a speech in New York on 18 December 1979. Mrs Thatcher drew particular attention to East-West relations, international economic problems, relations with developing countries, Iran and Southern Africa.

In her introductory remarks, Mrs Thatcher said that the last ten years had not been a happy period for the Western democracies, domestically or internationally. While self-questioning was essential to the health of any society, Western countries perhaps had carried it too far. The time had come when the West – above all Europe and the United States – had to begin to substitute action for introspection. In the 'dangerous decade' ahead, Mrs Thatcher continued, the challenges to the West's security and to its way of life might be more acute than in the 1970s. The responses of Western nations and their leaders, therefore, needed to be firm, calm, and concerted. Neither weakness nor anger nor despair would serve them.

Interdependence

Pointing to the fact of an increasingly interdependent world, and to the increase in public awareness of this, Mrs Thatcher said that 'today it is painfully obvious that no man – and no nation – is an island'. This had been underlined by the events in Tehran and the way in which everyone felt involved with the fate of the hostages from the United States Embassy (see p 372-3,1979). Nothing could excuse the treatment they had received, nor the flouting of the principle of diplomatic immunity which was central to the civilised conduct of relations between states. Britain, together with its partners in Europe, had given full public and private support to the efforts of the United States to secure the unconditional release of the hostages, and would continue to support and help in any way it could.

Ideological Issues

The Iranian crisis, Mrs Thatcher continued, epitomised the problems which had to be faced in trying to co-exist in a shrinking world where political, economic, social and, some would say, religious upheavals were endemic. The Prime Minister did not believe that Islam should be judged by events in Iran. There was a tide of self-confidence and self-awareness in the Muslim world which had preceded the Iranian revolution, and which would outlast its present excesses. The West should recognise this with respect, not hostility. It was in its own interests, as well as in the interests of the people of the Middle East, that the latter should build on their own deep religious traditions. The West did not wish 'to see them succumb to the fraudulent appeal of imported Marxism'.

Looking beyond the Middle East, Mrs Thatcher continued: 'I am convinced that there is little force left in the original Marxist stimulus to revolution. Its impetus is petering out as the practical failure of the doctrine becomes daily more obvious. It has failed to take root in the advanced democracies. In those countries where it has taken root – countries backward or, by tradition, authoritarian – it has failed to provide sustained economic or social development. What is left is a technique of subversion and a collection of catch-phrases. The former, the technique of subversion, is still dangerous. Like terrorism it is a menace that needs to be fought wherever it occurs. . . . As for the catch-phrases of Marxism, they still have a certain drawing power. But they have none in the countries which are ruled by the principles of Marx. Communist regimes can no longer conceal the gulf that separates their slogans from reality in the countries where they rule.'

East-West Relations

The immediate threat from the Soviet Union, Mrs Thatcher explained, was military rather than ideological, and it was a threat not only to the West's security in Europe and North America but also, both directly and by proxy, in the Third World. The Soviet Union continued to proclaim the ideological struggle, asserting that the demise of the Western political system was inevitable. It should not be surprised, therefore, Mrs Thatcher added, if the West listened and took note of this. At the same time, the Soviet Union continued to expand its armed forces and improve the quality of their armaments. Its forces, together with those of its Cuban and East German proxies, were making appearances ever more regularly in parts of the world where they had never been seen before. It was, therefore, simple prudence for the West to

respond, and Britain intended to do that to the best of its ability and at every level including the strategic. The decision of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to modernise its long-range theatre nuclear weapons (see p 10) would in due course help to balance the new and sophisticated weapons the Soviet Union already had aimed at Europe. Mrs Thatcher recognised that the strategic power of the United States in the Western Alliance remained paramount, but also emphasised the contribution of the Alliance's European members, a contribution which was never overlooked by the Soviet Union.

Pointing to the totally destructive and immensely expensive nature of modern weapons, Mrs Thatcher emphasised that it was in nobody's interest that they should be piled up indefinitely. It made good sense for both sides to seek agreements on arms control which preserved the essential security of each. Britain had therefore supported the talks on strategic arms limitations and on mutual and balanced force reductions, and hoped that the SALT II agreement would be ratified (see pp 11 and 15). In arguing that the West should put itself in a position to negotiate from strength, Mrs Thatcher said, she had done no more than echo the constant ambition of the Soviet Government itself. She continued: 'I am not talking about negotiations from a position of superiority. What I am seeking is a negotiation in which we and they start from a position of balance; and, if both sides can negotiate, genuinely, to maintain that balance at lower levels, I shall be well content. It is in that spirit that I approach the proposals which have recently been made by President Brezhnev and others.' (See p 324, 1979.)

Economic Problems

There were other equally pressing problems, said Mrs Thatcher, and these concerned, in particular, the world economy and the relationship between the developed Western world and the newly emerging countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Today, no country could escape economic involvement with the economies of others. This had obvious consequences for foreign policy. The economic welfare of all countries – rich and poor, communist and non-communist, oil producers and oil consumers – was being increasingly affected by the operation of the market, by the growing demand of complex industries for scarce materials, and by the pressure on the world's finite resources of fossil fuels.

All of this, Mrs Thatcher added, had coincided with a prolonged period of uneasiness in the world's economy. The immediate prospects were sombre: inflation would be difficult to eradicate; growth had fallen sharply from its earlier levels; and there was a constant threat of disorder in the world oil market. The recent rises in oil prices had added to the general uncertainty which was one of the most damaging consequences of the present oil situation. The task of economic management, both nationally and internationally, was becoming more and more difficult, Mrs Thatcher added, and the precarious balance of the world economy could at any time be shaken by political upheavals in one or more countries over which the rest of the world might have very little influence. In these circumstances, everyone had a direct practical interest in the orderly settlement of political disputes.

Rhodesia and Southern Africa

These considerations were among those which had persuaded the British Government of the need for a decisive effort to secure a settlement in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. The agreement reached in London,[1] Mrs Thatcher emphasised, showed that even the most intractable problem would yield to the necessary combination of resolve. The British Government was grateful for the forceful and timely support it had received throughout the negotiations from the United States Government, and from President Carter personally, especially in the final stages.

Britain had no illusion about the practical problems of implementing the agreement, Mrs Thatcher stated, but now was a time for reconciliation, and for restoring normal relations between all the states in the area. The Lancaster House agreement could prove a major step towards peaceful evolution and away from violent revolution in Southern Africa. It encouraged perseverance with the five-power initiative to achieve an all-party settlement in Namibia (see pp 152-4, 1979).

Turning to the question of South Africa, Mrs Thatcher said that the real prospects of ending the conflicts on South Africa's borders, combined with the welcome initiatives in South African domestic policies, offered a chance to defuse a regional crisis which was potentially of the utmost gravity, and to make progress towards an ending of the isolation of South Africa in world affairs.

The Strengths of the West

It was important, Mrs Thatcher stated, not to regard these problems as insoluble. The West had immense material and moral assets. To these had to be added the clarity to see where its strengths should be used; the will and confidence to use them with precision; and the stamina to see problems through. Despite their difficulties the Western democracies remained overwhelmingly strong in economic terms. They were, it was true, more vulnerable than before because of the specialisation and complexity of their societies. It was vital, therefore, to keep a steady nerve and to concert policies. There was already agreement on the basic requirements – on the need to defeat inflation, to avoid protectionism, and to use limited energy resources better. As these problems were dealt with, the West's inherent vitality would reassert itself. There was, after all, no discernible challenge to the role of the Western democracies as the driving force of the world economy.

The political strength and stability of the West was equally striking, Mrs Thatcher continued. The real sturdiness of its political institutions was not seriously challenged from within. They met the

[1]The Lancaster House Constitutional Conference on Southern Rhodesia (see pp 364-70, 1979) reached final agreement on 15 December.

aspirations of ordinary people, and attracted the envy of all those who did not have them. They had shown themselves remarkably resistant to subversive influences. The democratic systems of the Western nations also made it possible for them to organise relationships with one another on a healthy basis. The North Atlantic Alliance and the European Community were associations of free peoples in which policies were frankly debated. The debates were often lively and occasionally heated, but they were a sign of strength, just as the regimented agreements of the communist alliances were a mark of weakness.

The argument now going on in the European Community [on budgetary issues] was a case in point (see pp 371-6, 1979), but the interests that united the members of the Community were stronger than those which divided them – particularly when viewed in the light of other international problems. These common interests, Mrs Thatcher believed, would assert themselves. She was confident that an acceptable solution would be found and that the European Community would emerge fortified from the debate. A strong Europe was the best partner for the United States. It was on the strength of that partnership that the strength of the free world depended.

Another asset of the West's was its relationship with the countries of the Third World. Neither recent events, nor past injustices, nor the outdated rhetoric of anti-colonialism could disguise the real convergence of interest between the Third World and the West. It was the West which had the experience and contacts which the developing countries needed, which provided most of the markets for their goods and raw materials, and supplied them with most of the technology they required. It also provided them with private investment as well as official development assistance. The Western countries did this not only for their own sake but to support the efforts of the countries of the Third World to develop their own economies.

Future Action

In concluding, Mrs Thatcher said that the difficulties which faced the Western countries could and would be overcome provided that they did not undervalue themselves nor decry their strength. Self-confidence would be needed to tackle 'this dangerous decade', during which action would be required with the following in mind:

1 To restore the dynamic to Western economies.

2 To modernise the West's defence.

3 To continue to seek agreement with the East.

4 To help the developing countries to help themselves.

5 To work together to improve the world economy through its international trading and financial institutions.

6 To conserve energy resources, especially fossil fuels.

7 To achieve an understanding with the oil producers which would benefit everyone.

8 To assert the West's faith in freedom and its belief in the institutions which sustained it.

Mrs Thatcher hoped that the present generation would go down in history 'as the generation which not only understood what needed to be done but . . . had the strength, the self-discipline and the resolve to see it through'. That was the task for the 1980s.

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

The regular twice-yearly meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) took place in Brussels in December 1979. The NATO Council put forward a new package of proposals on arms control and disarmament in Europe. At a special meeting, NATO ministers adopted a modernisation programme for the missile systems in Western Europe. This article summarises the communiqués issued after the meetings and the British Defence Secretary's comments following the special meeting.

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

The North Atlantic Council meeting, attended by the foreign ministers of member countries, took place on 13 and 14 December. The communiqué issued after the meeting states: 'Ministers renewed their faith in the North Atlantic Treaty which guarantees the freedom, security and well-being of their peoples and the preservation of peace and international stability. Because their Governments are based on the consent of their peoples, on democratic institutions, and on the principle of equality and the rule of law, the members of the Alliance have the strength, enhanced by the will to assist each other, to face the challenges which lie ahead. Looking forward to the 1980s, ministers expressed their confidence that, by maintaining the strength and cohesion of their Alliance and pursuing the complementary goals of arms control, disarmament, and the improvement of relations between East and West in general, their Governments would continue to make a major contribution to peace and stability in Europe and the world.'

East-West Relations

Reviewing developments in East-West relations, ministers 'recalled their commitment to détente and stressed the defensive nature of the Alliance . . . . They expressed concern over the direct or indirect actions of the Soviet Union and some of its allies in a number of troubled areas concurrently with a very considerable build-up, both qualitative and quantitative, in Warsaw Pact military strength, and particularly with growing Soviet theatre nuclear and conventional capabilities. Ministers noted that these developments were a cause for legitimate disquiet and were not compatible either with assurances by the Warsaw

Pact countries that they do not seek military superiority or with their publicly-declared intention to promote détente, particularly in the military sphere. Ministers reiterated their view that détente must be world-wide and indivisible in character.'

Member countries' Governments 'were resolved to take steps to reduce the growing imbalance of forces by improving their military capabilities and thus maintain an adequate level of deterrence and defence across the full spectrum'. Ministers 'recalled the determination of their Governments to achieve, as a key element in conventional force modernisation, more effective use of available resources through co-operative equipment programmes and increased standardisation and interoperability of weapons systems' (see pp 6 and 149, 1979), and noted the initial progress that had been achieved in these respects. 'They would continue to work towards more balanced relations among the European and North American members of the Alliance in the field of armaments development and production in order to enhance the availability and quality of new defence equipment. They noted the contribution which is being made by the Conference of National Armaments Directors in this respect, and the need to bear in mind the interests of the less industrialised members of the Alliance.'

Arms Control, Disarmament and Confidence-building

'Ministers believed that efforts to achieve agreement in fields of arms control, disarmament and confidence-building should go hand in hand with the defence efforts of the Allies. They noted that recent proposals put forward by the Eastern countries echoed in part the Western proposals and they saw in them a hopeful indication of the evolution of these countries towards a more positive attitude in the search for common ground.'[1]

SALT

Ministers considered that the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) (see p 187, 1979) 'reflected their desire for genuine arms control measures which should contribute to the stability of East-West relations'. The Treaty 'makes it possible to maintain a strong United States strategic nuclear deterrent, which remains vital to the defence of the Alliance. Thus this Treaty, which will have the effect of curbing the build-up of strategic nuclear weapons in the world, improves the prospects for détente without jeopardising the security interests of the members of the Alliance. Ministers expressed the hope that the Treaty would soon come into force. They looked forward to the early continuation of the SALT process, on the basis of further close consultations within the Alliance, leading to additional United States and Soviet reductions and qualitative limitations in the nuclear field. They also expressed the belief that ratification of the Treaty would contribute to other possibilities of progress in the field of arms control.'[1]

CSCE Follow-up

'Ministers believed that the process initiated by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe [CSCE – see p 6, 1979] made a most valuable contribution to the strengthening of détente, and offered further opportunities to develop existing and new areas of dialogue in the search for agreement. They expressed the hope that the CSCE follow-up meeting to be held at Madrid in 1980 will be a major step forward in that process. Tangible progress in the meantime in implementing the provision of the [CSCE's] Final Act and adequate preparation are of great importance for the success of the Madrid meeting and could provide a basis for participation at the political [that is, ministerial] level.' Ministers 'noted with concern that, while there had been some improvement in certain countries, the situation remained unsatisfactory or had even deteriorated as regards respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including cases where citizens continue to be subject to harassment and imprisonment for no reason other than their efforts to bring about the full implementation of the Final Act. Ministers also noted that progress in the field of human contacts was uneven and expressed their concern that the level of implementation of the provisions dealing with a freer flow of information and working conditions for journalists had remained low and, in some cases, had deteriorated. They noted with satisfaction, however, that the Final Act increasingly has become the standard by which the actions of signatory states are judged.'

Ministers emphasised that they intended to approach and conduct the Madrid meeting 'in a constructive frame of mind and in a manner which would permit a thorough, frank and measured review of the implementation of all provisions of the Final Act', and would 'put forward new proposals and discuss proposals from other participants calculated to bring concrete and balanced progress in all fields covered by the Final Act'. They considered that the proposal by France for a conference on disarmament in Europe was a useful concept and promised to 'continue developing their approach in this field to bring about such a conference'. They also agreed 'to work towards the adoption during the Madrid meeting, as part of a balanced outcome, of a mandate for further negotiations under the aegis of the CSCE on militarily significant and verifiable confidence-building measures, applicable to the entire continent of Europe. These, if agreed, would help create conditions conducive to limitation and reduction of arms in the . . . area. This process should take account of both varied aspects of the

[1]Specific proposals were put forward by the Warsaw Pact in May 1979, and in the communiqué issued on 6 December 1979, following the Pact's meeting in East Berlin.

[1]Following the arrival of Soviet troops in Afghanistan (see p 15), President Carter has asked the United States Senate to defer further consideration of the SALT II treaty 'so that the Congress and I can assess Soviet actions and intentions and devote our primary attention to the legislative and other measures required to respond to this crisis'. However, the President emphasised the benefits which the implementation of the treaty would bring to the United States, the Soviet Union and the world.

existing security situation and of the current negotiations on other aspects of arms control and disarmament concerning the European continent.'

Negotiations on Force Reductions

The ministers of countries participating in the negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR, see p 11, 1978) noted their concern that 'the East has made no effort to resolve the data question' (see p 7, 1979). They stated that 'agreement on the starting size of forces to be reduced is not only an essential prerequisite to any reductions, but can also serve to build confidence that a reduction agreement is being observed and that mutual security is being enhanced'. In order to advance the negotiations, they approved a proposal for an interim phase I agreement. This new initiative aims at simplifying existing proposals by focusing on United States and Soviet manpower withdrawals and limitations, based on agreed data, and on associated measures. The phase I agreement would open the way for a phase II agreement, based on agreed overall data, providing for further reductions by all direct participants to achieve a common collective ceiling on ground force manpower for each side at approximately 700,000, and for agreement on a combined common collective ceiling on air and ground force manpower for each side at approximately 900,000. The package of associated measures 'is designed to promote military stability and confidence, to ensure adequate verification of an MBFR agreement, and to help safeguard undiminished security for flank countries'. The communiqué continues: 'These ministers urged Eastern participants to give prompt and serious consideration to their initiative, which takes account of negotiating proposals of both sides and which is in accordance with the agreed aim of the negotiations to contribute to the creation of a more stable relationship and to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe. They view this new Western initiative as an integral part of the arms control initiatives agreed upon during this ministerial meeting.'

Other Negotiations

Referring to other negotiations of disarmament and arms limitation, 'ministers reaffirmed the importance which they attached to the adoption of effective, balanced and verifiable measures'. They welcomed the discussions taking place at the United Nations' Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and Disarmament Commission in New York. 'They attached importance to the frequent and active consultations on these questions within the permanent machinery of the Alliance.'

Germany

'Ministers reaffirmed their conviction that an undisturbed situation in Berlin and on the access routes is an essential element of détente, security and co-operation in Europe. . . .' They 'noted with satisfaction the improved climate in the relations between the two German states after a period of reserve and welcomed the conclusion of new agreements and the continuation of negotiations. Ministers consider this as a positive element in the process of détente in Europe, having at the same time beneficial effects for Berlin.'

Mediterranean

Ministers 'underlined again the necessity of maintaining the balance of forces' in the Mediterranean area and 'welcomed the continuation of the dialogue between Greece and Turkey in search of a peaceful solution to the differences between the two countries'.

Economic Assistance

With regard to 'the particular problems faced by economically less advanced member countries' (see p 6, 1979), ministers, 'while noting with satisfaction the special efforts that had been made over recent months', stressed the need to give further momentum to the efforts to provide assistance to those countries. 'They reaffirmed their continued political support for this process which will, indeed, constitute an essential element for the fulfilment of the contributions by those countries to collective defence.'

Middle East

'With respect to the Middle East, the ministers affirmed the importance of elaborating and implementing a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of [United Nations] resolutions 242 and 338 and with participation of all the parties concerned, including representatives of the Palestinian people. Ministers noted with satisfaction progress achieved by Egypt and Israel in the implementation of resolution 242 insofar as their mutual relations are concerned [see pp 263-4, 1979]. They reaffirmed that a lasting peace requires the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects and the achievement of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in the context of a negotiated settlement that ensures the security of all states in the region including Israel.'

Summary of NATO's Programme of Action

In the statement which forms part of the Council communiqué, the ministers who participated in the special meeting (see p 13) noted that the decisions taken by the North Atlantic Council complemented those adopted at that meeting. Taken together, along with continuing activities flowing from decisions reached at previous meetings, 'they constitute a comprehensive programme of action'. This comprises measures to reduce the military imbalance through concrete improvement and modernisation of long-range theatre nuclear and conventional forces, and the following wide range of initiatives designed to improve mutual security and co-operation in Europe:

(a) an offer to negotiate for substantial reductions in the level of long-range theatre nuclear forces as well as inter-continental strategic forces within the framework of SALT III;

(b) unilateral withdrawal of 1,000 United States nuclear warheads from Europe;

(c) a proposal for an interim phase I agreement for mutual and balanced force reductions,

designed to give fresh impetus to the MBFR negotiations;

(d) a proposal for a package of associated measures in MBFR designed to ensure compliance with the agreement and to make military activities more transparent, thereby improving mutual confidence;

(e) in furtherance of the CSCE process, readiness to examine proposals concerning confidence-building measures and a conference on disarmament in Europe.

'These ministers', the statement continued, 'are determined that the 1980s should see a fundamental change for the better in the situation between East and West and will make every effort to bring this about. The programme of action which they envisage offers the best opportunity for creating more constructive relations between East and West for which their citizens have hoped for so long.' They called 'on the Warsaw Pact Governments to respond to this offer by making a determined effort, in all available negotiating fora, to achieve substantial results which will enhance security and mutual trust'.

SPECIAL MEETING

Foreign and defence ministers of the countries participating in NATO's integrated military structure (all member countries except France) held a special meeting on 12 December.

Military Build-Up

The communiqué issued at the end of the meeting points out that 'the Warsaw Pact has over the years developed a large and growing capability in nuclear systems that directly threaten Western Europe and have a strategic significance for the Alliance in Europe. This situation has been especially aggravated over the last few years by Soviet decisions to implement programmes modernising and expanding their long-range nuclear capability substantially. In particular, they have deployed the SS-20 missile which offers significant improvements over previous systems in providing greater accuracy, more mobility, and greater range, as well as having multiple warheads, and the Backfire bomber, which has a much better performance than other Soviet aircraft deployed hitherto in a theatre role. During this period, while the Soviet Union has been reinforcing its superiority in long-range theatre nuclear forces (LRTNF) both quantitatively and qualitatively, Western LRTNF capabilities have remained static. Indeed these forces are increasing in age and vulnerability and do not include land-based, long-range theatre nuclear missile systems.

'At the same time, the Soviets have also undertaken a modernisation and expansion of their shorter-range TNF and greatly improved the overall quality of their conventional forces. These developments took place against the background of increasing Soviet inter-continental capabilities and achievement of parity in inter-continental capability with the United States.'

If these trends were to continue, 'Soviet superiority in theatre nuclear systems could undermine the stability achieved in inter-continental systems and cast doubt on the credibility of the Alliance's deterrent strategy by highlighting the gap in the spectrum of NATO's available nuclear response to aggression'.

These recent developments required 'concrete actions on the part of the Alliance if NATO's strategy of flexible response is to remain credible'. Ministers had decided to pursue two 'parallel and complementary approaches' of LRTNF modernisation and arms control.

Modernisation of Long-range Theatre Nuclear Forces

Ministers 'have decided to modernise NATO's LRTNF by the deployment in Europe of United States ground-launched systems comprising 108 Pershing II launchers, which would replace existing United States Pershing 1-A, and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCM), all with single warheads. All the nations currently participating in the integrated defence structure will participate in the programme: the missiles will be stationed in selected countries and certain support costs will be met through NATO's existing common funding arrangements. The programme will not increase NATO's reliance upon nuclear weapons. In this connection, ministers agreed that, as an integral part of TNF modernisation, 1,000 United States nuclear warheads will be withdrawn from Europe as soon as feasible. Further, ministers decided that the 572 LRTNF warheads should be accommodated within that reduced level, which necessarily implies a numerical shift of emphasis away from warheads for delivery systems of other types and shorter ranges.' NATO's Nuclear Planning Group was undertaking an examination of 'the precise nature, scope and basis of the adjustments resulting from the LRTNF deployment and their possible implications for the balance of roles and systems in NATO's nuclear armoury as a whole'. A report on the examination was due to be submitted to ministers in the autumn.

Arms Control Proposals

The communiqué emphasises 'the role of arms control in contributing to a more stable military relationship between East and West and in advancing the process of détente'. Ministers welcomed the contribution made by SALT II and considered that, 'building on this accomplishment and taking account of the expansion of Soviet LRTNF capabilities of concern to NATO, arms control efforts to achieve a more stable overall nuclear balance at lower levels of nuclear weapons on both sides' should now include certain United States and Soviet long-range theatre nuclear systems. This would reflect previous Western suggestions to include such systems in arms control negotiations and more recent expressions by President Brezhnev of willingness to do so (see pp 324-6, 1979). Ministers fully supported the decision taken by the United States following consultations within the Alliance to negotiate arms limitations on LRTNF and to propose to the Soviet Union to begin negotiations as soon as possible along the following lines:

(a) Any future limitations on United States systems principally designed for theatre missions should be accompanied by appropriate limitations on Soviet theatre systems.

(b) Limitations on United States and Soviet long-range theatre nuclear systems should be negotiated bilaterally in the SALT III framework in a step-by-step approach.

(c) The immediate objective of these negotiations should be the establishment of agreed limitations on United States and Soviet land-based long-range theatre nuclear missile systems.

(d) Any agreed limitations on these systems must be consistent with the principle of equality between the sides. Therefore the limitations should take the form of *de jure* equality both in ceilings and in rights.

(e) Any agreed limitation must be adequately verifiable.

A special consultative body would be constituted within the Alliance to support the United States negotiating effort.

The communiqué concludes: 'The ministers have decided to pursue these two parallel and complementary approaches in order to avert an arms race in Europe caused by the Soviet TNF build-up, yet preserve the viability of NATO's strategy of deterrence and defence and thus maintain the security of its member states. (a) A modernisation decision, including a commitment to deployments, is necessary to meet NATO's deterrence and defence needs, to provide a credible response to unilateral Soviet TNF deployments, and to provide the foundation for the pursuit of serious negotiations on TNF. (b) Success of arms control in constraining the Soviet build-up can enhance Alliance security, modify the scale of NATO's TNF requirements, and promote stability and détente in Europe in consonance with NATO's basic policy of deterrence, defence and détente . . . . NATO's TNF requirements will be examined in the light of concrete results reached through negotiations.'

Defence Secretary's Comments

In a statement about the meeting in the House of Commons on 13 December (*Hansard*, Vol 975, No 87, cols 1540-56), the Secretary of State for Defence, Mr Francis Pym, said that Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Italy, as well as Britain, had agreed to the stationing of the new theatre nuclear systems, subject in the Belgian case to a six-month deferment of implementation while arms control developments are monitored. The Netherlands would take a decision in 1981 on deployment in its territory. The first deployments should take place in about three years' time.

The Government would discuss with the United States where the 160 cruise missiles to be deployed in Britain should be stationed.

The Government, said Mr Pym, had fully supported the Alliance effort to reach agreement on this programme, which he believed was essential in order to avoid 'a dangerous gap emerging in NATO's theatre nuclear capability'. The decision reached at the special meeting was 'a dramatic reaffirmation of the American commitment to the defence of Europe' and 'a demonstration of the cohesion and political will of the Alliance to respond to a growing Soviet threat and to resist a massive Soviet propaganda campaign'. The Government must now hope that the Soviet Union was willing to negotiate seriously on the limitation of theatre nuclear systems.

EUROGROUP

Ministers of the Eurogroup countries – Belgium, Britain, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Turkey – met on 10 December. In the communiqué, they 'reaffirmed their basic aim in Eurogroup of strengthening the North Atlantic Alliance as a whole by ensuring that the European contribution to the common defence effort is as strong and cohesive as possible'. While noting the proposals, due to be discussed at the special meeting, on theatre nuclear force modernisation and arms control (see p 13), they 'reaffirmed that the provision of adequate conventional forces should continue to take priority in NATO force planning and in the planning of Eurogroup countries within the Alliance'. They welcomed the improvements which their countries planned to make to their forces in the coming year.[1] Noting the cost of future equipment and the economic constraints facing all nations, they 'stressed the need to make the best possible use of resources in making future defence provisions'. In this context they underlined the importance of the work of the Independent European Programme Group (see p 251, 1978) 'in its efforts to foster intra-European equipment programmes based on multilateral patterns of co-operation and to pursue discussions with the North American allies aimed at improving transatlantic equipment collaboration'.

The communiqué also gives some details of the activities of the Eurogroup sub-groups working to increase collaboration in specific areas (see p 252, 1978).

[For background information on NATO see pp 50-52, 1979, and COI Factel, *NATO: The British Contribution*, No 659/77.]

Prime Minister's Visit to the United States

The Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, made an official visit to the United States on 17 and 18 December 1979. She had talks with President Carter at the White House in Washington on 17 December.

In a joint statement issued on 18 December, the two leaders stated that they had 'reviewed the

[1] An annex to the communiqué provides some details of these improvements.

exceptionally close relations between their two countries and discussed a number of key world issues which are of particular concern to both. These included the Iran crisis, the Rhodesia settlement, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, theatre nuclear force modernisation and arms control, strategic co-operation, SALT, the comprehensive test ban talks, international economic issues and energy, common approaches to the Caribbean and aid to developing countries, transatlantic defence, trade, and bilateral economic and commercial issues.'

With regard to the international effort to secure the release of the American hostages in Tehran (see pp 372–3, 1979), the statement notes that President Carter had expressed his appreciation for Britain's assistance in this matter; and that both leaders had agreed 'that the principle of civilised behaviour and the rule of law, vital to the whole world community' was at stake in the crisis. Mrs Thatcher had made clear that 'Britain shared the anguish of America and would do its utmost to convince the Iranian authorities to release all the hostages unharmed'.

Turning to the question of Rhodesia, the statement continues: 'The President congratulated the Prime Minister on her Government's vigorous role in the Lancaster House negotiations[1] and the potential these have for contributing to peace and stability in Southern Africa. The Prime Minister expressed warm appreciation for the full support of the United States for an all-party solution to outstanding issues and its readiness to promote further progress in Rhodesia towards a fully democratic independent state within the framework of the arrangements agreed upon by the parties directly concerned.'

The Prime Minister had explained the British Government's recent political initiative in Northern Ireland (see p 4). Both leaders 'condemned support for organisations and individuals engaged directly or indirectly in campaigns of violence and agreed that such campaigns only delay the day when peace and reconciliation can come to Northern Ireland'.

The two leaders had applauded the recent decision and proposals made by NATO Governments on modernisation and reduction of nuclear forces (see p 13). They agreed that the earliest possible ratification of the SALT II Treaty would significantly contribute to a safer and more stable international security environment (see p 11).

The President and Prime Minister had agreed on the importance of maintaining a 'credible British strategic deterrent force' and United States-British strategic co-operation. Stressing the importance of increased efforts to strengthen NATO'S defences, both nuclear and conventional, the statement says that the President had reviewed the new United States five-year defence plan, noting that in order to carry out that plan the United States would be increasing defence spending, in real terms, steadily over the next five years. The President and Prime Minister had reaffirmed their strong support for the NATO long-term defence programme and for the NATO aim of 3 per cent real growth in annual defence spending (see pp 52 and 146, 1979). The statement continues: 'The Prime Minister noted plans for further significant increases in the British defence budget to improve the effectiveness of United Kingdom conventional forces, including provision of modernised equipment and reserves. The Prime Minister agreed that it was essential for America's European allies to share equitably in any collective defence build-up to meet the needs of the common defence.'

[1]The Lancaster House Constitutional Conference on Rhodesia (see pp 364-70, 1979) reached a successful conclusion on 15 December.

Afghanistan

Britain has condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as an unprovoked act of aggression against an independent country, representing a serious threat to world peace and an unprecedented development in the history of post-war Soviet expansion.

It has supported resolutions in both the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. The Security Council resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union, and the General Assembly resolution was overwhelmingly approved by 104 votes to 18, with 18 abstentions.

In April 1978 the Afghan President Mohammud Daoud was deposed by a coup organised by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The new regime was headed by Mr Nur Mohammud Taraki who signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union in December 1978. He in turn was overthrown and executed following a coup by Mr Hafizzullah Amin in September 1979.

Another coup occurred on 27 December 1979 when, according to Kabul Radio, Mr Amin was deposed and executed, and succeeded by Mr Babrak Karmal, a former member of Mr Taraki's Government. Mr Karmal came to power within two days of the arrival in or near Kabul of about 8,000 airborne Soviet troops, following a military build-up at the Bagram air base which began before Christmas. By 2 January a further 30,000 Soviet troops had arrived and the number has continued to increase. It is not clear exactly when Mr Karmal arrived in Kabul; it has been reported that his broadcasts of 27 December announcing his takeover were pre-recorded outside Afghanistan and broadcast from the Soviet Union.

BRITAIN'S RESPONSE

House of Commons Statement

The British Government's response to the Soviet Union's invasion was set out in the House of Commons on 14 January by the Minister of

State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr Douglas Hurd (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No 94, cols 1222-33).

Mr Hurd said that the Soviet invasion was 'an unprovoked act of aggression against an independent country' and that it represented 'a serious threat to world peace and an unprecedented development in the history of post-war Soviet expansion'. He continued: 'The Soviet Union acted, to establish a military hold on a sovereign country, in violation of the international principles which the Soviet Union constantly calls on others to observe. The Soviet Union justified its act by alleging prior foreign intervention. Yet the only intervention has been the Soviet invasion.' The Russians had shown that when they had the chance of gaining positions of power in developing countries, they were 'willing to put at risk their relations with the West'. Non-alignment, said Mr Hurd, was 'no protection against their appetites'. Further Soviet interventions could be expected elsewhere 'unless the international community shows clearly that acts of this kind cannot be undertaken with impunity'.

Turning to Britain's attitude, Mr Hurd recalled firstly that Britain had fully supported the action taken in the United Nations Security Council and that a number of Third World countries were 'pressing their arguments in the General Assembly using the "Uniting for Peace" procedure'.[1] This rallying of opinion in the Third World was a 'new and important factor'.

Secondly, Mr Hurd announced the recall of the British Ambassador to Afghanistan from Kabul for consultations, the ending of British aid (though Afghan students in Britain will be able to complete their courses), and the closure of the British Council office in Kabul. Relief aid in the form of tents, blankets and medical supplies was being provided to help the 400,000 Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

Thirdly, on action against the Soviet Union, Mr Hurd said that the Government welcomed the measures announced by the President of the United States and that the United States should not be alone in its firmness. The Government was therefore 'reconsidering all aspects of British-Soviet relations'. Representatives of Britain, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and the United States had met in London [on 31 December 1979] to see what steps should be taken, and discussions had continued in Brussels among members of the North Atlantic Alliance. Mr Hurd suggested that individual Western countries could curtail 'high-level and ministerial meetings and other important contacts with the Soviet Union' and said that 'suitable measures in the economic field' were also being considered. It was 'highly desirable . . . that the measures by Western countries should be concerted'. Mr Hurd pointed out that these matters were to be discussed on 15 January by meetings of European Community ministers and members of the North Atlantic Council.

Finally, Mr Hurd said that Britain saw an urgent need to consult and express support for its friends in the area. The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Lord Carrington, was therefore visiting Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Pakistan and India to discuss the current situation with their leaders, to see the problems of the region at first hand and to consult with them about the right response. Mr Hurd concluded: 'In our judgment, this is not a time for either panic or weakness. The Soviet Union has launched into an unprecedented foreign adventure. The chances of such an adventure being repeated will be reduced if it is met with a firm and concerted response. The Soviet Union cannot expect relations with Western Europe to continue unaffected while it invades and subjugates independent countries of other continents.'

Replying to a question about the holding of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, Mr Hurd said that this was a matter not for governments but for the sporting authorities and the athletes themselves. It was, however, a matter that needed consideration, for the Soviet Union regarded the holding of the 1980 Games as a major political event.

[On 17 January, the Prime Minister told the House of Commons that ministers favoured trying to move the venue of the Games from Moscow to elsewhere, if it were possible to do so. 'That cannot be done alone,' she continued, 'and we believe that we should try to do it by taking concerted action with our allies in making an approach to the International Olympic Committee, in whose lap the decision lies.' (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No 97, col 1864.)]

The Official Opposition's spokesman on foreign and Commonwealth affairs, Mr Peter Shore, condemned the 'Soviet armed attack on Afghanistan' and rejected as totally unconvincing 'the flimsy justifications' so far offered. The Opposition fully supported the action taken in the Security Council and the General Assembly to rally opinion in the Third World and elsewhere.

Statement to the UN Security Council

The draft Security Council resolution, proposed by non-aligned states and supported by Britain, called on the Council to reaffirm 'its conviction that the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations, any violation of which on any pretext whatsoever is contrary to its aims and purposes'. It deeply deplored 'the recent armed intervention in Afghanistan which is inconsistent with that principle' and affirmed that 'the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be fully respected'. The draft resolution therefore called for the 'immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social system free from outside

[1]The 'Uniting for Peace' procedure, which is set out in a General Assembly Resolution adopted on 3 November 1950, allows the General Assembly to make recommendations for collective action if the Security Council is prevented by the lack of unanimity of the permanent members from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

intervention, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever'.

When the vote was taken on 7 January the resolution was supported by Britain, the People's Republic of China, France, the United States, Norway, Portugal, Bangladesh, Zambia, Jamaica, Mexico, Tunisia, the Philippines and Niger. It was vetoed by the Soviet Union which also received the support of the German Democratic Republic.

In his statement to the Council on 5 January, the British Permanent Representative, Sir Anthony Parsons, said that the Soviet Union had 'mounted a massive armed intervention into a neighbouring state; an Asian state; a non-aligned state; a member of the United Nations; and, for the first time, a state not directly within the Soviet Union's own sphere of influence'. There were [then] about 50,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the world was being asked to believe that this was a 'limited' military response to appeals for help from the Afghan Government of Mr Hafizzullah Amin in accordance with a treaty of friendship and co-operation signed in 1978. Was it not strange and puzzling, therefore, asked Sir Anthony, that the next development was 'the overthrow and death of Mr Amin and his replacement by Mr Karmal, who appears to have arrived in the country only after Soviet forces had made it safe for him to do so?' Sir Anthony continued: 'It would take a credulous person to believe that Mr Karmal's Government came to power in response to the freely expressed wishes of the people of Afghanistan as a whole. If this is the case, why has the military invasion been necessary? Why has the massive Soviet military build-up continued even since the "election" of Mr Karmal? Why has it been necessary to despatch Soviet troops to all parts of Afghanistan to quell a rebellious people? The facts as they appear to the world justify to my Government the view that the Soviet Union has ruthlessly acted with military force against a small and defenceless neighbour. The talk of a response to other outside intervention . . . strains our credulity well beyond breaking point.'

Turning to the objection that the Security Council debate was an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, Sir Anthony asked how many foreign assisted coups there had to be in Afghanistan before the international community was allowed the privilege of even suggesting that all might not be well there and that events in Afghanistan had wider repercussions. Noting that representatives of the Soviet Union lost no opportunity in reminding the world of their devotion to the principles of non-intervention, respect for sovereignty, non-use of force, and non-aggression, Sir Anthony said that the Soviet invasion was a 'direct and flagrant violation, not only of the mass of resolutions brought by the Soviet Union to the General Assembly but also of the more sober and compelling language of the United Nations Charter'.

Sir Anthony observed that the actions of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan had created 'ever-widening ripples of deep concern throughout the world' and that many other countries in the region had denounced the invasion. The present situation undoubtedly constituted 'a threat to international peace and security' and it was 'entirely appropriate that the Security Council should be in urgent session'. The Soviet Union should 'withdraw its invading troops from Afghanistan and allow the people of that beleaguered country democratically and freely to choose their own leadership, and to determine their own future'.

In a world riven by 'conflicts of view, divergent interests, deep-seated disputes, and widely differing political systems', Sir Anthony emphasised, differences had to be solved peacefully, and 'naked national interest' had to be subordinated to 'the wider imperatives of peace and security amongst nations and peoples'. He concluded: 'We must abide by the precepts of the Charter of which the Security Council is the ultimate guardian. The Council must express itself in this grave crisis which we are considering today. It must do so in plain language, clearly and without equivocation. Only if the Soviet Union is ready to right the wrong which it has committed can all of us feel a sense of confidence and renewed security. The Soviet Union is a great power and great powers should suffer no complexes or inhibitions when it comes to the reversal of actions which are unacceptable to the international community.'

Statement to the General Assembly

On 9 January the Security Council voted by 12 to 2 in favour of the question being transferred to an emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly – the first such session since 1967. The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic opposed the move and Zambia abstained.

On 14 January the General Assembly approved by 104 votes to 18, with 18 abstentions, a resolution calling for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to allow the Afghan people to choose their own government and their own economic, political and social system.

In his statement to the Assembly on 12 January, Sir Anthony Parsons referred to the continuing military build-up in Afghanistan and to reliable reports indicating that there were now five Soviet divisions there. Britain had not hesitated in joining its voice with very many others in calling for their immediate withdrawal so that the Afghan people might freely work out their future and freely choose their political leadership. 'No-one can seriously argue that [they] have had that right during the past two years. Three governments . . . have been overthrown by violent means, with accompanying bloodshed and death. The present regime was installed through the agency of Soviet armed intervention, the previous government having been liquidated as a consequence of invoking its treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.'

Turning to the three dominant themes in the statements of the Soviet Union and its allies in the Security Council and the General Assembly, Sir Anthony said that these 'astonishing allegations' imposed 'a severe test on our collective imagination'. First there was the claim that successive Afghan governments since 1978 had made repeated requests for Soviet military assistance to ward off external armed attack. If Afghan-

istan had really been under such attack, asked Sir Anthony, why had the government and its Soviet ally not brought such a serious state of affairs before the United Nations? Why moreover had the Soviet Union or the regime in Afghanistan not immediately reported the military invasion to the Security Council as stipulated in the very Article 51 of the UN Charter[1] which they had invoked in a vain attempt to make their action respectable? Britain believed the answer to be that the so-called external threat did not exist; that the trouble in Afghanistan was a spontaneous expression of popular discontent with the regime; and that the Soviet military intervention was a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan without any valid pretext of self defence.

On the 'breathtaking' Soviet charge that the reaction of the United Nations to the intervention amounted to interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, Sir Anthony asked: which appeared more to fit the category of interference in internal affairs – the incursion by five Soviet divisions or the chorus of protest from the world community at that action? Finally there was the allegation that the response of the world community was 'some kind of Western plot', and that Western countries were attempting to resurrect the 'Cold War' and to destroy détente. In reply Sir Anthony asked whether the West was expected to remain silent when the Soviet Union sent its armed forces into other states just because there was once such a thing as a 'Cold War'. It was Britain's firm view that détente was not to be interpreted as licence for the Soviet Union to do whatever it wanted to its neighbours, and the wide-ranging participation in the Security Council and General Assembly debates, with statements from countries the world over, was answer in itself to the bogus charge of Western conspiracy. Britain had listened closely to the many statements and had gained an 'indelible impression of an overwhelming consensus' against the Soviet action and in favour of the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

The truth was that the Soviet Union had allowed 'its own concept of Soviet national interest to override its obligations under the UN Charter', and had 'acted in ruthless disregard of the consequences for international peace and security, for détente between East and West, and . . . for the rights and wishes of the people of Afghanistan'. Only by immediately withdrawing its forces could the Soviet Union right this wrong and restore its standing in the international community.

Foreign Secretary's Television Interview

On 3 January the Soviet Ambassador to Britain, Mr Nikolai Lunkov, met the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Lord Carrington, to give the Soviet reply to representations made by Mrs Thatcher in a letter to President Brezhnev. Describing the outcome in a BBC television interview, Lord Carrington said the Soviet reply was 'totally unconvincing in two particular details'. Commenting on the Soviet Union's claim that the Afghan Government had called for assistance on 26 December, Lord Carrington said that he could not see how anyone could be expected to believe this given the fact that the incumbent leader had been shot and a 'new puppet' put in his place on 28 December. On the Soviet assertion that there had been outside forces invading Afghanistan, Lord Carrington said that there was no evidence for this and it was not true.

Asked about action taken by the West, Lord Carrington announced his plans to visit Turkey, Oman, Pakistan and other countries in the area to inform them about Western support for them and ascertain their views. He said: 'It must be very worrying for these countries to see overnight what can happen to an independent country, and I think we must consider the situation there and we must talk to the people concerned, see what they would like, and then come back and think about it'. Lord Carrington pointed out that Afghanistan was very strategically placed and was in 'the middle of the Muslim world'. It was necessary 'to be very vigilant and not to underestimate the importance or the gravity of what has happened in the area'.

ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES

Action has been taken by the United States Government in response to the Soviet intervention. On 2 January the White House announced that the US Ambassador to the Soviet Union had been recalled for consultations. Among measures announced by President Carter on 4 January were a request to the US Senate to defer further consideration of the SALT II Treaty (see footnote, p 11); a refusal to deliver 17 million tons of grain ordered by the Soviet Union in excess of the amount that the United States was committed to sell under a five-year agreement; a ban on further sales of high technology or other strategic items to the Soviet Union; and a severe curtailment of Soviet fishing privileges in United States waters. President Carter said that these new economic policies would be co-ordinated with those of the United States' allies. In addition he said that the US Government would delay the opening of any new American or Soviet consular activities and that most cultural and economic exchanges under consideration would be deferred.

The President also announced that military equipment, food and other assistance would be given 'to help Pakistan defend its independence and national security against the seriously increased threat it now [faced] from the north', and that the United States was ready to help other nations in the region in similar ways.

[1]This article recognises 'the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence' in the event of an armed attack against a member of the United Nations. It provides that such measures should be 'immediately reported to the Security Council' and that they should in no way affect that body's authority and responsibility to take whatever action it considered necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Cambodia

On 7 December 1979 the Lord Privy Seal, Sir Ian Gilmour, announced in the House of Commons (*Hansard*, Vol 975, No 83, cols 718-27) that the British Government no longer recognised any government in Cambodia. At the same time, he spoke of the need for a collective effort to bring about a solution to the Cambodian problem.

Lord Privy Seal's Speech

Over the past decade, Sir Ian told the House, the Cambodian people had had their traditional way of life utterly destroyed, and their suffering had greatly intensified when the Khmer Rouge overran the country in 1975 (see pp 191-3, 1975). The 'nihilistic and ruthless regime' which had then come to power had been 'dedicated to the destruction of the social structure and every vestige of individual freedom in Cambodia'. It would never be known, Sir Ian added, 'how many hundreds of thousands of people died of hunger, torture, exhaustion or sheer mindless killing in a country where the possession of even a pair of spectacles was taken as a mark of privilege worthy of the sentence of immediate death'.[1]

Vietnam's Policy

Cambodia's misery was compounded in December 1978 when the Vietnamese invaded the country. They did so, Sir Ian said, 'not as liberators, but as occupiers, in flagrant contravention of the Charter of the United Nations'. The ensuing war had 'brought with it disease, death and starvation of a sort reminiscent of the Thirty Years War or the Middle Ages'.

The invasion could not be viewed in isolation, Sir Ian continued. In the past four years the policies and actions of the Vietnamese Government had consistently undermined the stability, not only of Indo-China, but of the entire region and particularly the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).[2] The Vietnamese Government's expulsion of its unwanted population in small unseaworthy boats in early 1979 had placed intolerable burdens on the free countries of the area, particularly Thailand, Malaysia and Hong Kong (see pp 224-8, 1979). The invasion of Cambodia and the prolonged occupation by a Vietnamese army now numbering about 200,000, coupled with the starvation that the war had brought in its wake, had added enormously to the problem. Condemning the Vietnamese Government's actions, Sir Ian expressed Britain's 'strong support' for ASEAN which was 'a major factor for strength and stability in the region'. It was 'strongly in the free world's interests that ASEAN should survive and develop as a major political and trading partner'. Britain could not be indifferent to such a major threat to the cohesion and prosperity of these countries.

The country principally affected, Sir Ian explained, was Thailand. About 300,000 refugees had fled there to escape the fighting and starvation, and, with the fighting intensifying in the regions near the Thai border, another 500,000 or more homeless people were reported to be moving in search of food and sanctuary. Sir Ian praised the Thai authorities for their response to this intolerable burden, for having undertaken not to return the refugees to Cambodia and for taking extraordinary steps, in concert with relief agencies, to meet their needs.

Political Issues

The peace and stability of Indo-China, Sir Ian stated, depended on 'the re-establishment of an independent Cambodia, free of foreign troops and the influence of great power rivalries, under a national government chosen by the people of Cambodia in an act of self-determination'. The continuance of Vietnamese aggression in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations was indefensible. In February 1979, Sir Ian recalled, when the matter had been brought before the United Nations Security Council, only the Soviet veto had saved Vietnam from condemnation and a call to withdraw its troops. Since then the ASEAN countries, with Britain's wholehearted support, had sought to invoke the authority of the United Nations, and in November an overwhelming majority of 91 members of the General Assembly, including Britain, adopted an ASEAN resolution calling again for foreign forces to be withdrawn.

Turning to the question of recognition, Sir Ian pointed out that the proportion of Cambodian territory held by the Pol Pot forces had continued to dwindle in recent months. Britain's normal criteria for recognising a government were that it should enjoy, with a reasonable prospect of permanence, the obedience of the mass of the population and the effective control of much the greater part of the country. In view of these criteria, Sir Ian said, the British Government could no longer regard Mr Pol Pot[1] as leading an effective government. By the same token, however, it could not recognise the claim of Mr Heng Samrin's regime.[2] The regime's dependence on the Vietnamese occupation army was complete, and there was no reason to doubt that without its presence the regime would be swept away by resurgent Cambodian nationalism. Britain's position, therefore, was that there was no Government in Cambodia which it could recognise, and this was also the position of the United States and Britain's leading friends in Europe.

Humanitarian Issues

The immediate concern of the international community, Sir Ian stated, had to be to relieve the appalling famine and disease in Cambodia. Britain had been one of the first to make a positive detailed commitment to supply humanitarian aid

[1]The British Government condemned the reported atrocities in May 1976 and in March 1978 called upon the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to investigate them.
[2]The members of ASEAN are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

[1]In late December Mr Pol Pot was replaced by Mr Khieu Samphan as Prime Minister in the Khmer Rouge regime.
[2]Mr Heng Samrin is head of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea which was installed in Phnom Penh in January 1979 following Vietnam's invasion.

to the Cambodian people, doing so on 6 October, only ten days after the international relief agencies had first announced that they had received agreement from the Phnom Penh authorities of Mr Heng Samrin to go ahead with their relief plans, and two weeks before the launching of a joint appeal by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the United Nations Childrens Fund. Other countries followed suit, and, at a United Nations pledging conference on 5 November, a total of over £100 million was committed. Britain's contribution totalled over £7 million, consisting of direct relief amounting to £3·5 million and an indirect contribution, through the aid programme of the European Community, of another £3·5 million (about 18 per cent of the total Community programme).[1]

Turning to the question of the administration and distribution of the aid within Cambodia, Sir Ian said that all the international relief agencies had made excellent progress. Any shortcomings had not been due to any lack of generosity or diligence among the agencies, but to the severe transport and distribution bottlenecks within Cambodia. The attitude of the Vietnamese authorities, however, was a cause for deep concern. Initially, the Vietnamese had insisted that no aid should be given to any Cambodian who was not subject to their control, but this matter appeared to have been resolved to the satisfaction of the relief agencies in September 1979. Recently, however, there had been reports that the authorities on the spot were insisting on urgently needed supplies being stockpiled in Phnom Penh and Kompong Som, instead of being distributed as quickly as possible.

Conclusion

Concluding, Sir Ian said that the humanitarian response was not enough. He continued: 'Britain and [its] partners must continue to apply concerted political pressure in the hope that reason and humanity will prevail, and that sooner rather than later the Khmer people will find peace and prosperity again in their own country. This is a problem not just for the peaceful states of South East Asia, which are dangerously close to the conflict, but for all those who stand against cruelty and oppression.' A sustained and collective effort on the part of many nations was necessary and Britain was determined to contribute in whatever way it could to achieve a solution.

Shorter Notes

AFRICA: DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Britain and five other Western countries (Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United States) announced on 28 December 1979 that they had agreed to co-ordinate their resources for joint development projects in Africa. Known as Concerted Action for Development in Africa (CADA), this plan will provide a framework for co-operation particularly in projects of a regional character, such as those related to the opening-up of land-locked regions, the development of agricultural resources or the effects of problems such as drought or tropical diseases. At present, these matters are only partially covered by national or international aid programmes. Any action will be elaborated in close collaboration with the African authorities concerned, at the continental, regional or national level, and in such a way that the projects selected for joint action will conform to priorities set by these authorities.

CADA is not intended to replace the existing arrangements for the provision of British development assistance to African countries. In 1978 British bilateral aid to Africa totalled £175 million gross, an increase of £60 million over the previous year. The main recipients were Zambia (£33 million), Kenya (£29 million), Malawi (£16 million) Tanzania (£10 million) and Nigeria (£10 million). In all, development assistance was provided to 46 African countries. These also benefit from Britain's contributions to the aid programme of the European Community, particularly through the Lomé Convention (see p 322, 1979), and to multilateral aid institutions like the World Bank and the Development Fund of the African Development Bank.

[1]British voluntary aid societies are also involved in providing relief supplies to Cambodia, and by early January OXFAM, for instance, had provided food and other supplies worth £3·6 million. Much of this had come from funds raised in an appeal launched by the children's television programme *Blue Peter*. By early January some £3·3 million had been raised by this appeal.

Employment Bill: Second Reading

The Employment Bill, which was given a second reading in the House of Commons on 17 December 1979, provides for the reimbursement from public funds of the cost of holding secret ballots for some purposes in trade unions, and enables the Secretary of State for Employment to issue codes of practice to promote good industrial relations. The Bill also establishes a right for anyone not to be unreasonably excluded or expelled from a trade union, and amends existing legislation relating to unfair dismissal, the maternity rights of employees and guarantee payments. Further provisions relate to picketing and other acts carried out during a trade dispute.

Provisions of the Bill

The Bill's main provisions were foreshadowed in a series of consultation papers issued during the summer and autumn (see pp 201-2 and 299-301, 1979).

Clause 1 provides for the establishment of a scheme to be administered by the Certification Officer for Trade Unions and Employers' Associations (appointed in 1976 under the Employment Protection Act 1975 – see p 44, 1976) for payments from public funds towards the costs incurred by trade unions in conducting secret ballots.

Clause 2 would enable the Secretary of State for Employment, after consultation, to issue codes of practice containing practical guidance for promoting the improvement of industrial relations. Any code would be subject to approval by both Houses of Parliament.

Clauses 3 and 4 cover provisions relating to union membership agreements (agreements, known as 'closed shops', which require all workers in a particular workplace or company to be members of a union). Where a closed shop applies an employee would have the right not to be unreasonably excluded or expelled from a trade union and to claim compensation if he or she were so excluded.

Clauses 5 to 9 relate to cases of unfair dismissal. In deciding the fairness or unfairness of a dismissal an industrial tribunal would take into account the size and administrative resources of the employer's undertaking (clause 5).

Dismissal for non-membership of a trade union where there is a closed shop would be regarded as unfair in an increased number of cases. The additional grounds would be where an employee objects on grounds of conscience or other deeply held personal conviction to membership of a union (if he were not a member of a relevant union when the membership agreement came into effect), or (in the case of agreements commencing after the enactment of the clause) where the agreement was not approved in a ballot in which at least 80 per cent of those to be covered supported it (clause 6).

A new undertaking with fewer than 20 employees would be exempted from the unfair dismissal clauses for a period of two years after taking on its first employee. The minimum length of a fixed term contract of employment in which the parties may agree to waive the employee's right to complain of unfair dismissal would be reduced from two years to one (clause 7).

The Bill provides that the amount awarded in compensation for unfair dismissal could be reduced where the employee has unreasonably refused an offer of reinstatement, or because of his conduct. The minimum entitlement to two weeks' pay would be abolished (clause 8).

An employer defending himself against a charge of unfair dismissal would be enabled to involve, as a co-defendant, a person or trade union who had induced him to dismiss the employee by calling or threatening industrial action because the employee was not a member of a trade union (clause 9).

Clause 10 and 11 cover maternity rights. To retain the right to return to work after maternity absence, the Bill prescribes that a woman would have to give written notification of her impending absence and of her intention to return to work. Further provisions relate to keeping her employer informed during the absence and to giving notice of her intended date of return. Where an employer with five or fewer employees found it not reasonably practicable to reinstate an employee in her original job or to give her a suitable alternative one after maternity absence, the Bill provides that he would be relieved of the obligation to reinstate her. An employer would also be relieved of his obligation to reinstate an employee after maternity absence where it was not reasonably practicable for a reason other than redundancy for him to do so and he offered her suitable alternative employment.

Clause 12 specifies that no more than five days' guarantee pay will be payable in any three

months, instead of fixed three-month periods as before.

Clause 13 extends to an employee who objects on grounds of conscience or other deeply held personal conviction to membership of any union or a particular union the right not to have action short of dismissal taken against him to make him join a trade union.

Clause 14 limits the scope of section 15 of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act 1974 (see pp 121-2 and 159-161, 1974) so that it applies to peaceful picketing in connection with a trade dispute only when carried out by someone at or near his own place of work (or, if he has been dismissed, his former place of work), or by a trade union official accompanying a member of that union at his place of work.

Clause 15 deals with aspects of union recruitment and provides that immunities from legal action given by section 13 of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act 1974 shall not apply where a person induces an employee of one employer to break his contract of employment in order to compel workers of another employer to join a particular trade union unless they are working at the same place.

Clause 16 repeals, among others, section 1A of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act 1974, which provides for a charter on the freedom of the press (see p 145, 1976), sections 11 to 16 of the Employment Protection Act 1975, which establish a procedure for dealing with trade union recognition issues, and a number of other provisions relating to terms and conditions of employment.

House of Commons Debate

The Bill passed its second reading by 315 votes to 245, a Government majority of 70. Introducing the debate (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No 89, cols 58-176), Mr James Prior, Secretary of State for Employment, reviewed legislation on industrial relations over the past 15 years. 'It would be wise at the start of a further period of debate', Mr Prior said, 'to recognise that none of us has been successful, that during that period our industrial performance has declined and that the period . . . has been one for our country of which none of us can be particularly proud.'

The Government's approach, Mr Prior went on, had been pragmatic. In drawing up its proposals it had drawn on experience, including the experience of those working in and close to industry. It had proceeded through wide and intensive consultations. Changes had been made as a result of views offered on a number of options put forward for consideration by the Government. Mr Prior stressed that although the Government had sought to do what was practical, it believed that fundamental matters of principle were at stake. One of these was to ensure that the rights of the individual were respected and upheld. Nevertheless, the rights of an individual as an individual had to be balanced by the right of individuals to act together. 'I do not believe', Mr Prior continued, 'that what we have witnessed in the last 20 years has been a balance. It is that which has worried successive Governments . . . throughout the whole of this unsettled period. The changes we propose are limited to those where experience has shown that the law is not working well, where privilege is being abused and suffering results, where the creation of new jobs is being inhibited by fear of the present law and what it means.' The Government's proposals 'are designed to improve industrial relations . . . by working with the grain rather than against it'. They should not be used as an excuse for abandoning the search for good voluntary procedures. Support for these proposals was, he said, as strong among trade unionists as in the rest of the community.

Dealing with individual clauses of the Bill, Mr Prior explained that clause 2, which would give him the power to publish codes of practice for the improvement of industrial relations, would enable him to produce a code on the closed shop, and, if no other authoritative, comprehensive and effective guidance were available, a code on picketing.

On the closed shop provisions, Mr Prior rejected a ban on such agreements, but said that the Bill aimed to provide the individual with effective safeguards. 'We are concerned', he said, 'to see that the law underpins . . . good practice and provides a remedy in those cases – I hope few – where it is not followed.' (Clauses 3 and 4.)

The Secretary of State referred to the charter on the freedom of the press, which the previous government had proposed but was unable to bring before the House. In 1976, he explained, the House had been worried about the effect that a closed shop could have on the journalist's freedom to report whatever and wherever he liked, to have access to publish and to be able to write free from interference by his union should it attempt to dictate policy. The press charter was suggested with this in mind. The present Government intends to provide specific guidance on the subject in a code to ensure that press freedom is not infringed, and the Bill therefore repeals the relevant section of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act 1974. (Clause 16.)

Commenting on the proposals for secondary picketing, Mr Prior said that the Government's aim was to protect employers and employees who found their livelihood and jobs threatened by picketing in support of a dispute in which they had no part, and no access to the means of ending it. For example, in the road haulage dispute of early 1979 there had been secondary picketing of food wholesalers, to bring about food shortages in the shops. 'That was not traditional picketing. It was the abuse of industrial power.' The Secretary of State emphasised that the existing right of someone to picket his own place of work would be unaffected, as would the existing rights to demonstrate or protest. The Government proposed 'simply to restore the right to take civil proceedings where secondary picketing induced a breach of contract'. (Clause 14.)

On the repeal of those sections of the Employment Protection Act 1975 which deal with statutory recognition procedures for trade unions involving the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS), Mr Prior emphasised his full commitment to an independent and respected conciliation service. He believed, however, that

'the compulsory element of the work of ACAS has jarred with every other aspect of its work, which rests on a voluntary approach'. By removing the statutory recognition procedures the Government would remove the cause of those actions by ACAS which have proved most controversial, particularly in relation to the promotion of collective bargaining. (Clause 16.)

Opposition View

Mr Eric Varley, the Opposition spokesman on Employment, said that the Bill would 'weaken and damage trade union rights and individual rights'. The Opposition had no great objection to secret ballots, but it should not be thought that they offered a universal remedy for settling industrial disputes. On picketing, Mr Varley said that the Bill's ambiguities would cause more problems than it solved, and place an intolerable burden on individual members of the police. The clauses relating to maternity pay and a woman's right to return to her job after maternity leave were spiteful and mean. The proposals in the Bill, in the Opposition's view, would not prevent a single industrial dispute that would have taken place without it, nor, despite the title of the Bill, would it do anything to create jobs.

Nuclear Power Policy

The Government's support for further nuclear power stations, in order to secure Britain's long-term energy supplies, has been affirmed by the Secretary of State for Energy, Mr David Howell, in a statement on the nuclear power programme and the nuclear industry. The Government considers the electricity supply industry's advice that it needs to order at least one new nuclear power station a year in the ten years from 1982 to be 'a reasonable prospect against which the nuclear and power plant industries can plan'. It wishes the nuclear and electricity supply industries to proceed with a pressurised water reactor as the next nuclear power station order, while decisions on later reactor orders will be made in due course. The plans for the reorganisation of the nuclear design and construction industry envisage a build-up of the National Nuclear Corporation (NNC) to suit the needs of the nuclear programme.

In his statement in the House of Commons on 18 December 1979 (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No 90, cols 287-9), Mr Howell said that safe nuclear power and a strong nuclear industry were essential to Britain's energy policy. On present prospects, supplies of North Sea oil and gas would be declining in the 1990s. Even with full exploitation of coal and energy conservation and with great efforts on developing renewable energy sources, it would be 'difficult, if not impossible, to meet this country's long-term energy needs without a sizeable contribution from nuclear power'. The Government had to act now to ensure that the industry was on a sound footing and had therefore held urgent consultations with those most directly concerned. It believed that continuing nuclear power station orders were required if Britain's long-term energy supplies were to be secured and current industrial uncertainties were to be resolved.

Reactor Orders

Mr Howell said that the previous Government had authorised the Central Electricity Generating Board (CEGB) and the South of Scotland Electricity Board to begin work with a view to ordering one Advanced Gas-cooled Reactor (AGR) station each as soon as possible (see p 70, 1978) and work was in hand.[1] At the same time the previous Government had also endorsed the CEGB's intention to establish the pressurised water reactor (PWR) as a valid option by ordering such a station provided that design work was completed satisfactorily and that all necessary government and other consents and safety clearances had been obtained. The present Government agreed that the nuclear and electricity supply industries should proceed along these lines and had indicated to them its wish that, subject to the consents and safety clearances being obtained, the PWR should be the next nuclear power station order after the AGRs, with the aim of starting construction in 1982. With the approval of the Government, the CEGB had endorsed the National Nuclear Corporation's selection of a PWR licensed from Westinghouse (one of the major nuclear contractors in the United States) and would shortly issue a letter of intent to the NNC to authorise the design and, subject to the necessary approvals, manufacture of a PWR. In consultation with the CEGB, the NNC would prepare the safety case for the CEGB to consider and submit to the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate (NII) of the Health and Safety Executive (HSE). Statutory consent to build the station would also be needed and an inquiry would be held in due course.

Safety

Mr Howell said that overriding importance was attached to the safety of nuclear power. The Government wanted to ensure that the lessons of events at the Three Mile Island station in the United States had been learnt. He was publishing that day preliminary assessments of the Kemeny Report (see below) on this incident provided to him by the NII and other authorities in Britain.

[The accident at the Unit 2 Reactor at the Three Mile Island plant in Pennsylvania occurred on 28 March 1979 causing considerable damage to the reactor core, although the release of radioactivity to the environment and radiation

[1]These stations are to be built at Heysham (Lancashire) and Torness (Lothian). Commercial AGRs are in operation at Hunterston B (Strathclyde) and Hinkley Point B (Somerset), while three more now under construction should be in operation in the early 1980s. A brief description of nuclear power in Britain is given in COI reference pamphlet *British Industry Today: Energy*, R5977/78.

doses received by the plant's workers and members of the public were small. Reports on the accident, including the Report of the President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island (the Kemeny Report), have been kept under review by the NII. In the light of the information available so far, the HSE and the Chief Inspector of the NII consider that the accident did not arise from any serious inherent weakness in the concept or design of the PWR. The accident has not changed the HSE's view that a PWR can be designed, constructed and operated in a way which would satisfy the HSE's conditions for a licence in Britain.[1]]

Long-term Orders

The electricity supply industry had advised that it would need to order at least one new nuclear power station a year in the decade from 1982, or a programme of some 15,000 megawatts over ten years. Mr Howell said that the precise level of future ordering would depend upon the development of electricity demand and the performance of the industry, but the Government considered this a reasonable prospect against which the industries could plan. Decisions on the choice of reactor for later orders would be taken in due course.

National Nuclear Corporation

Responsibility for the design and construction of commercial nuclear reactors in Britain rests with the Nuclear Power Company (NPC), a wholly owned subsidiary of the NNC. The Government has a 35 per cent shareholding in the NNC exercised by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, while 30 per cent of the shares are held by the General Electric Company Ltd (GEC) and 35 per cent by British Nuclear Associates Ltd (a group of seven British companies with experience in the nuclear manufacturing industry). Mr Howell said that the Government attached importance to the steady build-up of the NNC into 'a strong and independent design and construction company, fully able to supply nuclear power stations at home and abroad efficiently'. The boards of the NNC and the NPC would be 'brought together into a single-tier structure with full responsibility for the affairs of the company'. The supervisory management agreement between the NNC and GEC would be terminated and the management of the NNC would be built up to suit the needs of Britain's nuclear programme. The NNC's immediate task was to carry forward its work on the AGR programme, including early commissioning of the AGRs under construction, and to complete work on a PWR design, ready for safety scrutiny. In addition, it was the Government's wish that the NNC should take on total project management responsibility for the first PWR. Mr Howell said that the NNC might also wish 'to consider moving into some areas of manufacturing in due course'.

[1]More detailed information on the HSE's comments is given in *The Accident at Three Mile Island – Comments by the Health and Safety Executive*. Available from the Enquiry Point, HSE, Baynards House, 1 Chepstow Place, London W2 4TF, 60p. ISBN 0 7176 0041 6.

Airports Policy

The Government has decided that the growing demand for air transport facilities in south-east England should be met by the provision of additional capacity, as the traffic develops, at existing airports, particularly Heathrow, Gatwick and Stansted, and by encouraging the use of regional airports. It has decided not to build a major new international airport of the kind considered by the Roskill Commission, which reported in 1971 (see pp 39-41, 1971), and it does not intend to revive the Maplin project, which the previous Government abandoned in 1974 (see pp 323-5, 1974).

The Government's decision was given in a statement by the Secretary of State for Trade, Mr John Nott, in the House of Commons on 17 December 1979 (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No 89, cols 35-8). On the same day the reports of the two bodies which considered various aspects of the development of a third London airport were published.[1]

REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON AIRPORTS POLICY

The Advisory Committee on Airports Policy is concerned with the overall airports strategy throughout Great Britain. In its consideration of airport capacity in the South East, it concentrated on four basic questions: whether there was a need for further airport capacity to meet the London area demand for air transport, whether the demand should be met, when any new capacity would be required, and where any capacity should be located.

The Committee concluded that the capacity of the existing south-eastern airports was likely to be exhausted towards the end of the 1980s. Latest forecasts indicated that by 1990 air traffic demand in the London area could be within the range 69 million to 81 million passengers a year (rising to between 92 million and 116 million a year by 2000), whereas the effective capacity of the existing four airports – Heathrow (taking into account the fourth terminal which is to be built), Gatwick, Stansted and Luton – could be around 65 million passengers a year. Congestion was likely to increase and the Committee was convinced that new airport capacity would be needed in the South East if demand were to be met, even taking into account the contribution that might be made by airports in other regions. The Committee thought that the potential contribution of the regional airports had been underestimated and that this contribution should be maximised. It recommended that the Civil Aviation Authority's licensing policy and the Government's negotiations with other countries should provide greater scope in future for regional services, both to other regions and to airports overseas.

[1]*Report of the Advisory Committee on Airports Policy: The Need for a Third London Airport*. HMSO, £2·50. ISBN 0 11 512920 0. *Report of the Study Group on South East Airports: Possible Sites for a Third London Airport*. HMSO, £10. ISBN 0 11 512921 9.

While acknowledging that 'there would be a definite advantage to the environment and public expenditure in not providing further airports capacity', the Committee was 'especially conscious of the role of air transport within the economy'. Air transport was an industry which could be expected to grow and in which Britain had a prominent position. It was 'vital to the development of our tourism industry and generally to the growth of business and trade'. Although the Committee considered that the effects of airport development should be mitigated as far as possible, it believed that 'the arguments for continuing to meet the demand are the more compelling and that this should be confirmed as government policy'.

To complement the work of the Study Group on South East Airports (see below), the Committee considered whether a site could be developed outside the South East to meet the demand. However, its conclusion was that, although 'regional airport development could contribute to meeting the demand, it could in no way obviate the need for development in the South East itself', and that the choice was limited to one of the six sites assessed by the Study Group.

REPORT OF THE STUDY GROUP ON SOUTH EAST AIRPORTS

The Study Group examined the costs and other aspects of the development of a new two-runway airport at six possible sites which it had shortlisted (see p 163, 1979): Hoggeston (Buckinghamshire), Yardley Chase (between Bedford and Northampton), Langley (which is on the border of Hertfordshire and Essex), the existing airport at Stansted (Essex), Willingale (Essex), and Maplin (Essex) for which two options were considered, one on Foulness Island and one on Maplin Sands. The report says that a new airport must be close to central London, without imposing severe limitations on the use of Heathrow and Gatwick; it must be near to population centres where it could make the best use of labour and existing urban infrastructure, while avoiding disturbance to existing communities and excessive noise nuisance; and that it should be close to existing roads and railway lines. Among the other factors considered are the loss of agricultural land and countryside, destruction of homes, the scale of urban development, the effect on defence establishments, and the costs and 'lead times' involved in bringing an airport into operation.

Findings

The Study Group's aims were to provide an objective comparison of sites, without recommending which one should be chosen. Among its findings are that Maplin would be superior to the inland sites in terms of noise nuisance, Yardley Chase would cause least interference with operations at Heathrow and Gatwick, but that the airlines believe that Maplin and, to a lesser extent, Yardley Chase would be unlikely to succeed commercially because of their remoteness from London. The provision of an airport at Yardley Chase, Maplin and Hoggeston would require major road and rail construction, while comparatively short road and rail links would be required for Langley and Stansted. Three of the sites (Yardley Chase, Willingale and Maplin) would have serious effects on defence because of the need to relocate certain major defence establishments, while Stansted would have little effect on defence capability. The ultimate capital cost of building a fully-developed two-runway airport with a capacity of about 50 million passengers a year at any one of the sites is about £1,000 million at 1979 prices. However, there are differences in the expected lead time from a decision in principle by the Government to the airport's opening. Stansted, as an existing airport, has the shortest lead time (eight years), while there is little difference between the other sites (11-13 years), apart from Maplin (17 years) which would be longer because of special difficulties including the relocation of defence establishments.

GOVERNMENT STATEMENT

In his statement, Mr Nott said that the Government had decided not to build a major new international airport of the kind considered by the Roskill Commission and it did not intend to proceed with the Maplin project, even in a revised form. Instead, the Government's policy was 'to encourage the fullest use of regional airports' and to provide additional airport capacity, as traffic developed, based on the existing airports in the South East, especially Heathrow, Gatwick and Stansted.

Regional Airports

Mr Nott said that policies would be 'designed to maximise the potential of the English regional airports and those in Scotland and Wales and thus shift the burden away from the London area airports'. The Department of Trade would 'look with particular favour upon proposals for the expansion of capacity to meet demand at airports such as the East Midlands, Birmingham and Manchester'. The Government proposed to negotiate new rights permitting services between overseas cities and British provincial towns. This was in accordance with the new policies contained in the Civil Aviation Bill (see pp 382-3, 1979). On the initiative of the Department of Trade, the Council of Ministers had recently invited the Commission, after consultation with member states, to present specific proposals early in 1980 for developing airline routes within the European Community to serve the regions.

Airport Capacity in the South East

Mr Nott said that the Government had considered whether it would be right to ignore the likely demand for air transport, but such a decision would lead to growing chaos at existing airports. Given the uncertainty of forecasts about the growth in the number of passengers, the required solution was one which met the demand in London and the South East only as it developed and which avoided 'the massive expenditure implications of developing a green field or coastal site'.

Capacity at Heathrow was virtually exhausted and diversion of traffic to Gatwick would continue in line with his statement in October 1979 (see pp 344-5, 1979). In order to provide additional capacity, the Government had decided that a fourth terminal should be built at Heathrow, although there would be certain restrictions designed to mitigate the noise nuisance to local residents. Careful consideration had been given to the possibility of constructing a fifth terminal at Heathrow but, as it would take at least 12 years to complete and would impose added burdens on the surrounding area, the Government had decided that a fifth terminal should not be provided.

Mr Nott said that a public inquiry would be held in 1980 into a proposed second terminal at Gatwick. The Government would reach its conclusions in the light of the inspector's report. It had considered whether further capacity should be created by constructing a second runway at Gatwick, but had decided not to pursue this possibility.

The previous Government had planned for development of the existing airport at Stansted to a capacity of 4 million passengers a year by the late 1980s. Stansted's runway could carry many more passengers than this. Road access was good and the Government believed that the addition of a new terminal, which could eventually handle up to 15 million passengers a year, together with appropriate improvements in access, could be carried out by the purchase of under 1,500 acres (607 hectares) of additional land and with the minimum commitment to public expenditure. Accordingly, the Government believed that this expansion was the best way of providing extra capacity before the end of the 1980s.

Mr Nott said that a decision on airport capacity for a much longer period ahead was required so that demand could be met if it continued to develop. The Government had given careful consideration to each of the sites examined by the Study Group. The best solution was one that avoided any premature expenditure and left future governments with the maximum degree of flexibility. On the evidence available, none of the green field sites met all the requirements. Although Maplin had certain advantages, it could not be ready to meet the expected shortage of capacity in the late 1980s and the expenditure required would involve very serious risks which were unjustified when the Government could not be certain that an airport of such a size would be needed. The British Airports Authority would therefore be invited to bring forward proposals for the construction of a single terminal building at Stansted based on the existing runway facilities and which would be capable of handling about 15 million passengers a year. It would also be invited to apply for the safeguarding of an additional area of up to 2,500 acres (1,012 hectares), sufficient to provide for a possible second runway and further terminal capacity if needed in the 1990s and beyond. Proposed developments at Stansted would be examined under appropriate planning procedures, which would include a wide-ranging public inquiry, and a final decision on the developments would then be taken. This would provide 'a full opportunity for all those concerned to express their views on these proposals and for the wider social and environmental implications to be explored and assessed'.

Shorter Notes

NATIONAL ENTERPRISE BOARD

The Government published on 11 December 1979 new draft guidelines for the National Enterprise Board (NEB), set up under the Industry Act 1975 (see p 486, 1975). The new guidelines have been made available in draft form to assist Parliament in its consideration of the Industry Bill (see pp 339-340, 1979) which is now before the House of Commons; and to allow interested parties to express their views.

The guidelines are intended to provide a revised framework for the operations of the NEB; they include not only specific requirements, but also some general policies to guide it. The guidelines will make a number of major changes in the NEB's activities. In particular the Board will be required to dispose of its shareholdings to private ownership as soon as practicable. In deciding the timing, price and other conditions on which greater private financial involvement may be obtained in a particular case, the Board shall have regard to the interests of the company. The Board shall not refrain from making a disposal merely to help itself to meet its own financial duties. In preparing for any disposal the Board shall seek to secure the highest available consideration subject to the interests of the taxpayer and the company; it will be allowed to retain and reinvest some part of the receipts from the sale of certain investments. The approval of the Secretary of State for Industry must be sought if the NEB seeks to dispose of voting shares or stock; a similar consideration applies to its subsidiary companies, but only if the sum of the disposal exceeds £500,000.

Before acquiring securities or making loans the NEB must satisfy itself that the requirements of the company concerned could not be met appropriately by other sources of finance, and must seek to invest only in conjunction with private funds. It must only make an acquisition when there is a prospect of an adequate rate of return within a reasonable period. The Board shall have a catalytic investment role restricted to: companies in which it already has an interest; companies engaged in the development or exploitation of advanced technologies; companies carrying on (or to carry on) an industrial undertaking which is (or will be) wholly or mainly in the assisted areas; and small firms in areas of high unemployment, principally the English assisted areas. Except in the case of BL Ltd, the NEB shall not make loans, provide guarantees, or make any other form of financial commitment in excess of £5 million without the approval of the Secretary of State. For BL Ltd, this limit is raised to £25 million for each project, although the Board must give the

Secretary of State reasonable notice of its intentions if any commitment exceeds £10 million. In lending to its subsidiaries or other companies, the Board shall charge a rate of interest not less than that paid by commercial companies of the highest standing when raising finance. Other duties of the NEB include the preparation of an annual investment programme, consultation with the Director General of Fair Trading, where appropriate, and maintaining arrangements for consultation and collaboration with the Development Agencies.

Disposal of ICL shares by the NEB

In accordance with a statement to the House of Commons on 19 July 1979 by the Secretary of State for Industry, Sir Keith Joseph, the Board has begun to dispose of some of its assets (see pp 243-4, 1979). It sold its 25 per cent holding in ICL (see p 356, 1976) on 17 December for a total of £38 million, which represented a profit of £25 million on its total investment of £13 million.

NEW SCOTTISH DEVELOPMENT AGENCY GUIDELINES

The Secretary of State for Scotland, Mr George Younger, announced on 12 December the publication of new industrial investment guidelines for the Scottish Development Agency (SDA – see p 106, 1975). These guidelines reflect the Government's intention to modify the powers and functions of the Agency (see pp 339-40, 1979). The SDA's principal functions, to be funded from grant-in-aid, are: industrial promotion and the attraction of industrial investment in Scotland; the provision, letting and management of sites and premises for industry; and environmental improvement work, including the clearance of derelict land. The Agency's industrial investment powers are to be used as a complement to these functions and are to be funded separately – usually from public dividend capital or by borrowings from the National Loans Fund. The Agency is also expected to develop the rural economy, and maintain arrangements for consultation and collaboration with the Highlands and Islands Development Board.

When purchasing equity in a company, the Agency should, where relevant, come to some agreement on conditions whereby the shares can be re-purchased by other shareholders, directors or other specified persons on agreed terms. In general, the Agency should seek to dispose of shares which it holds at the earliest practicable time consistent with its statutory purposes. Whenever the Agency considers an investment, it should seek to encourage maximum private sector participation, refrain from investing in enterprises for which sufficient private sector funds are available, and have full regard to the profitability of the enterprise. Any of the Agency's industrial investment activities, other than those appropriate to its Small Business Division, may be conducted with the assistance of a subsidiary of the Agency which it will set up for that purpose. The Agency is to be the sole shareholder in this subsidiary and may, with the consent of the Secretary of State, transfer to the subsidiary any industrial investment.

Among other new features in the guidelines are that the Agency should not, without the approval of the Secretary of State, make an investment in excess of £150,000 in a company if this would bring its total investment to more than 50 per cent of the total funding of the company from all sources, excluding grants made under the Industry Act 1972; and that where it proposes to provide a guarantee for more than £150,000 the Agency is to give the Secretary of State advance notice of its intentions. He may then decide whether to intervene or qualify the exercise of these powers.

BL LTD

Government support for BL's corporate plan for 1980 was affirmed by the Secretary of State for Industry, Sir Keith Joseph, in a statement in the House of Commons on 20 December 1979 (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No. 92, cols 884-5).

The plan comprises programmes for investing in and launching new products and for improving productivity and working practices; and a restructuring programme involving a reduction in the work force of at least 25,000 over the next two years, the complete or partial closure of 13 car, bus and engine plants, and a review of the future of several others.

Sir Keith told the House that, in the view of the BL board, 'the plan offered the only feasible strategy which could give BL the chance of being viable'. BL faced strong competitive pressures in the 1980s and, in reviewing the plan, the Government had 'borne very much in mind its responsibilities to the taxpayer as well as to all those concerned with the future of BL'.

'The plan envisages a requirement for £297 million of public funds in 1980, with a further £133 million between 1981 and 1983', Sir Keith explained. 'These two sums together represent the £225 million balance of the original Ryder £1,000 million [this being the total amount of funding from the National Enterprise Board agreed for the period 1976-82 following the Ryder report (see pp 204-5, 1975)] plus £205 million to meet the cost of redundancies and closures under the management's restructuring programme.' The company sought approval at this stage only for its 1980 requirements, and the Government had decided to fund the plan up to the end of the 1980-81 financial year by the provision of £150 million in equity form, with an additional facility on which BL would be entitled to draw on evidence of need up to a maximum of a further £150 million. In addition, the Government had accepted the board's request for conversion to equity of the £150 million loans provided by the National Enterprise Board in 1977. The Government would also be looking to BL to contribute to funding needs from its internal resources, including the disposal of assets where this made commercial sense. To the extent that the plan called for funds beyond the Ryder £1,000 million, clearance from the European Commission would be necessary.

INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY

All member countries of the International Energy Agency (IEA) have committed themselves to limit oil imports in 1980 and to pursue goals for their oil imports in 1985, according to a communiqué issued after the meeting of the Agency's governing board held at ministerial level on 10 December 1979. Britain's representative was the Secretary of State for Energy, Mr David Howell, who made a statement about the meeting to the House of Commons on 17 December (*Hansard*, Vol 976, No 90, written answers, cols 32-3). Mr Howell said that the governing board had concentrated on 'the very difficult international oil situation'. It had recognised that continuing uncertainties about oil supplies 'posed a severe threat to the health of the world economy and particularly to the developing countries'. Ministers had reaffirmed their determination to continue strongly with the medium-term and long-term policies needed to bring about a substantial reduction in the dependence of IEA countries on imported oil. They had also urged the oil producing countries 'to pursue policies which would contribute to stabilisation of the world's oil market' and they had 'stressed the need for a common approach to the world's energy problems by producing and consuming countries, both developed and developing'.

Member countries of the IEA had agreed to limits on their oil imports in 1980 and goals for their oil imports in 1985.[1] Britain's limits for these years were net imports of 12 million tonnes and −5 million tonnes respectively. The performance of each country against its objectives would be monitored on a quarterly basis by the governing board. To begin the process of monitoring, ministers would meet again in the first quarter of 1980 when they would review all aspects of the situation including adjustments of the 1980 oil import limits to the extent proved necessary by oil supply and demand developments. The governing board would prepare plans to deal with this and other situations which might arise in the coming months.

OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS LICENSING

Details of the main features of the seventh round of offshore oil and gas production licensing were given by the Secretary of State for Energy, Mr David Howell, in the House of Commons on 5 December 1979 (*Hansard*, Vol 975, No 82, written answers, cols 220-2). Mr Howell noted the Government's objective that oil and gas exploration on the United Kingdom Continental Shelf (UKCS) should proceed with increased momentum. He said that it was important for companies to push ahead with exploration and appraisal under existing licences, and he also intended to initiate the seventh round of licensing as soon as possible. A new direction and impetus to offshore licensing policies was required. He therefore proposed that the seventh round should contain a number of features; the aim would be to license in total about 70 blocks. Some blocks in deeper water would be included as it was important to start to explore territory in progressively deeper waters and to gain experience of the problems involved. Companies would be able to apply for blocks of their own choice in the well-explored part of the northern North Sea, roughly the area between 56°N and 62°N to the east of the Greenwich Meridian (see map, p 230, 1979), in addition to the blocks to be listed by the Department of Energy. The British National Oil Corporation (BNOC) and the British Gas Corporation would have the same opportunities as private sector companies to apply, but would no longer have a mandatory majority interest in future licences. In line with the policies he had announced on 26 July 1979 (see pp 229-31, 1979), the BNOC would be given an option to take at market value up to 51 per cent of the petroleum produced under seventh round licences. Mr Howell said that he intended to discuss these detailed proposals with those involved. The Government believed that these proposals would 'result in a positive response from the industry, large and small companies alike', and would lead to an increase in exploration activity on the UKCS. (Previous licensing rounds took place in 1964, 1965, 1970, 1971-72, 1976-77 and 1978-79.)

ABOLITION OF THE NATIONAL PORTS COUNCIL

Following a review of the activities and functions of the National Ports Council (which advises the Government on major port developments, encourages and advises the ports in the interests of efficiency, and has various other responsibilities), the Minister of Transport, Mr Norman Fowler, announced in the House of Commons on 12 December 1979 (*Hansard*, Vol 975, No 87, written answers, cols 653-4) that the Council would be wound up and that responsibility for the efficiency of the ports industry would be put in the hands of the ports. Mr Fowler noted that the Council had brought about considerable improvements, but much remained to be done. He had concluded that the Council, which cost the ports industry over £1 million a year, would not be able to achieve the further improvements in port efficiency which the country needed. He was consulting the British Ports Association, port users and other interests about the means of discharging those functions of the Council which still needed to be carried out. The necessary legislation would be introduced as soon as he was satisfied with the industry's arrangements for improving its efficiency and productivity.

[1]The limits (excluding ships' bunkers) for IEA countries as a whole are 23·1 million barrels a day in 1980 and 24·6 million barrels a day in 1985. The latter limit has been lowered from the level agreed at an IEA meeting in May 1979 (see pp 159-61, 1979) of 26 million barrels a day.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Social Trends since the 1950s

The new edition of *Social Trends* contains an article which comments on some of the changes that have taken place over the last thirty years or so in the ways in which the people of Britain live, work and use their leisure time. Of these changes, the article says, there are three which perhaps stand out among the others. First, the range of opportunities open to young people widened enormously. Secondly, women – particularly mothers – were more likely to have some sort of paid job in the 1970s than in earlier years and the proportion of families with more than one earner increased. Thirdly, people at work were entitled to longer holidays as the years went on, and enjoyed a small decrease in the numbers of hours that they worked each week. Working people, therefore, had more time for other pursuits.

The Social Commentary

The tenth annual issue of *Social Trends*, which brings together key social statistics for Britain and which aims to provide a background to public discussion of social changes and policies, was published on 6 December 1979, and contains a special social commentary which looks mainly at material living standards as measured through changes in the way people earn and spend their money.[1] It looks also at the role of publicly provided services, at the ways in which people use their time, and at the changing quality of the environment. However, it does not attempt to cover other changes such as those concerned with changes in family and other personal relationships, nor does it cover the effects of increases in personal choice, especially for women, brought about by improved methods of contraception, and by divorce reform and abortion legislation.

Many changes stand out over the last three decades during which the concept of luxury and necessary goods has altered considerably. The early 1950s were still largely a time of austerity with many goods still rationed while many others, taken for granted today, were not widely available. Many services, like those provided by the National Health Service, had only just begun to develop. The 1960s was an era of ambitious building programmes for new hospitals and schools as well as being something of a watershed in social attitudes. During the 1970s there was inflation, relatively high unemployment and oil crises, but there was also a moderate increase in material well-being, a greater choice in personal consumption, the growth of the leisure industry, increases in company 'perks', a modest decline in the extent of inequalities in income and wealth, and a change in the balance between privately and publicly provided services.

Most of the elements of living standards such as income, purchasing power and spending are interconnected, and the commentary relates these various elements to each other while highlighting some of the main changes in each of them over the past three decades. It is divided into five main sections. The first looks at changes in the real incomes of households and in the sources of income for individuals within households. The second considers changes in the way people and households spent their income and at changes in the types of housing and other goods and services which households used. Changes in the ways in which people spent their time is discussed in the third section, while the fourth looks at the changes in the way people saved their unspent income. The final section covers people's use of two of the main public services – education and health.

Incomes

By far the biggest part of incomes for most households came from people's earnings even though state-provided benefits began to make up a greater share in the 1970s. In 1951 earnings from employment and self-employment accounted for 84 per cent of total personal income; in 1961 for 81 per cent; and in 1977 for 78 per cent. From the early 1950s there was a rise in the real gross average levels of earnings for both men and women. Using constant (1975) prices throughout, average earnings for a man in manual work rose in real terms from £31 to £54 a week between 1951 and 1977. Until 1970 relative differences in average earnings between manual and non-manual workers remained about the same. But various long-term trends may have been responsible for the narrowing of differentials from 1970, including a switch from manual to non-manual employment; the increased number of married

[1] *Social Trends 10* is produced by the Central Statistical Office. HMSO, £12·90. ISBN 0 11 630763 3. The social commentary was written by Sue Toland of the Central Statistical Office.

women seeking employment; a change in the pattern of employment in different sectors; legislation on equal pay for men and women; and the incomes policies of successive governments.

The increased proportion of married women in paid employment meant that a larger proportion of households had more than one earner in the late 1970s. In 1968 the average number of earners per non-pensioner household was 1·68; by 1977 it was 1·73.

Social Security Benefits

Cash benefits were being paid to an increasing proportion of all households over the post-war years. They were already an integral part of society in 1951 when they took up 12 per cent of total public expenditure; in 1961 this figure was 16 per cent; and reached 23 per cent in 1977-78 when nearly £13,000 million (at current prices) was paid out on social security benefits. The majority of cash benefits increased in real terms and in relation to earnings, from the 1950s, although there were fluctuations. Sickness and other short-term benefits also rose in real terms from the 1950s.

Other Incomes

Apart from earnings and state-provided benefits, income also comes from investments, savings, occupational pension schemes, and annuities. Income from savings and investment accounted for about 7 per cent of all income in the early 1950s but for under 3 per cent in 1977. Even though individuals saved a higher proportion of their incomes as the period progressed, the return from such savings fell as a proportion of all income.

In 1953 fewer than one million pensions were being paid from occupational pension schemes and less than one-sixth of people over retirement age were receiving such pensions. The number being paid out rose steadily and by 1975 nearly three and a half million occupational pensions were being paid to slightly over a third of all people over retirement age. During the 1950s and 1960s there was also a growth in the number of workers in occupational pension schemes from six million employees in 1953 to 11 million in 1963; this increased only slightly to 11·5 million in 1975. The overall increase of the past three decades means that occupational pensions will contribute to the incomes of increasing proportions of elderly people in the future.

Subsidies

Food subsidies were temporarily reintroduced in 1974 on basic foods such as milk, butter and cheese, bread, flour and tea. (There had been some subsidies on food during the war and post-war years.) Payments in 1975 – the year of the highest levels of food subsidies – amounted to £632 million, about 5 per cent of total consumer expenditure on food. It was estimated that food subsidies effectively added on average a further £32 a year to household incomes in 1975. For households with children, however, food subsidies added an extra £42 a year to their incomes in 1975; and for pensioners an extra £17.

Housing subsidies, such as rent and rate rebates, played a more important part in household incomes. In 1961, they added an extra £24 a year (at 1975 prices) to average household income, rising to £77 in 1975. As with food subsidies, the impact of housing subsidies was different for different household types. For example, in 1975, for pensioner households they amounted to £128, while for households with children the amount paid was £65.

In terms of disposable income (that is, income after direct taxes, national insurance contributions, and cash benefits), both housing and food subsidies were small. They amounted to under 1 per cent of disposable income in 1961 and to less than 4 per cent in 1975. For pensioner households, however, the contribution to income from subsidies was greater – 3 per cent of disposable income in 1961 and 14 per cent in 1975.

Household Incomes

Although individuals became on average better off over the post-war years' average household income may have been effectively reduced as more elderly people lived alone, and the proportion of young people moving into homes of their own rose. Working in the other direction, however, was the increasing proportion of households with more than one earner.

Direct Taxes

Between 1961 and 1975 total public expenditure doubled in real terms and this was financed in part by an increase in the proportion of household income paid in personal income tax. However, the increase in the proportion of pensioner households led to a rise in the proportion of households with low incomes and therefore paying little or no tax: households in the bottom 20 per cent of the distribution of income paid a lower proportion of their income in personal direct taxes in 1975 than in 1961. Not all households were affected in the same way, however, nor were the changes the same throughout the 1960s and the 1970s. Over the period as a whole, households with two adults and two children were subject to the greatest increase in the proportion of income paid in direct taxes (from 9 to 20 per cent). On average the proportion of income paid in national insurance contributions changed little from about 3 per cent of income before taxes and transfers for all households in 1961 to about 4 per cent in 1975.

Indirect Taxes

Between 1961 and 1975 the trend was for indirect taxes to make up a declining proportion of the money available for public expenditure. Indirect taxes decreased from 24 per cent of disposable income for all households in 1969 to 20 per cent in 1975, having been 19 per cent in 1961. [Present government policy is to switch some of the tax burden from taxation on earnings to taxation on spending.]

There have been changes in the nature of indirect taxation over the period, the most important being the introduction of Value Added Tax in

1973, and the implementation of Selective Employment Tax between 1966 and 1973.

Incomes after Taxes and Transfers

Throughout the period 1961 to 1975 retired households (except those with high incomes) gained more from benefits than they paid in taxes. The real value of their incomes before taxes rose by more than 40 per cent and after taxes and transfers by more than 85 per cent. For households with two children, pre-tax income rose in real terms by nearly a half over the same period, but after all taxes and transfers by less than a third. The position was similar for households with four children, though their real incomes rose by a smaller amount. For all households, real incomes before taxes and transfers rose, on average, by a third between 1961 and 1975, while their incomes after taxes rose by a quarter over the same period.

Spending and Consumption

The way in which household income was spent changed from the 1950s. This was not only because of the rise in incomes in real terms; but also because the variety of food, durable and other goods and services had expanded and, with increased foreign travel and improved communications, the way in which people lived had changed.

Changes in the Overall Pattern of Spending

As incomes rose, the proportion of household expenditure on different basic necessities changed. For example, the proportions spent on food and on clothing and footwear fell, whereas the proportion of expenditure on housing rose steadily through the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time the average size of households became smaller and with rising incomes and expanded building programmes, more people were in a position to be able to consider buying their own homes, rather than having to rent or to share with others. Spending on other goods which were not necessarily considered as basics in the 1950s also changed.

Spending Patterns

Changes in expenditure patterns were not the same for all types of household. The proportion of spending on food was higher than on any other item for all types of household throughout the three decades. There were differences between types of household. About a third of the expenditure of households with two adults and two children went on food in the 1950s. By the late 1970s this had fallen to a quarter. Retired householders spent a higher proportion on food throughout the period – over a quarter in 1977 – mainly because their incomes were lower. Households where the head was in non-manual employment spent a smaller proportion, but a higher absolute amount on food than manual workers throughout the period.

Throughout the years from the 1950s the proportion spent on alcohol and tobacco was higher for households with two adults and two children than for pensioner households; and higher for manual than non-manual worker households; but for all types of household there was a switch in expenditure away from tobacco to alcohol. In the 1950s, a higher proportion of expenditure went on tobacco than on alcohol; by the 1970s this pattern was reversed. Throughout the period non-manual worker households spent a larger slice of their expenditure on housing than did manual worker households.

Partly as a reflection of the changes in the concept of necessary and luxury goods, and partly because of changes in prices, the proportion of spending on transport and vehicles rose throughout the 1950s and 1960s before beginning to level off in the 1970s for all types of household. For pensioners a very small proportion of all spending went on transport and much of the money that they did spend went on publicly provided transport. For households with children, the proportion spent on vehicles and transport trebled between 1953–54 and 1971, and then fell slightly.

Spending Patterns for Particular Types of Household

To some extent, changes in spending patterns for particular household types were brought about by changes in the average age of the people in the household. The average age of the heads of two adults and two children households was lower in the 1950s and 1960s and they would have had relatively lower incomes than in the 1970s. This was because married couples tended to have children at an earlier stage in their marriage, and a smaller proportion of them had only two children.

Food and Drink

Food took a higher proportion of all household expenditure in the 1950s than in the 1970s. Changes in the kind of food that was bought reflected movements in relative prices and incomes as well as variations in tastes and habits.

The increase in the number of married women going out to work was reflected in the amounts of convenience foods eaten through the 1960s and 1970s. In 1960 convenience foods accounted for about a fifth of all expenditure on food; by 1970 this had risen to a quarter. New techniques such as freeze-drying and wider ownership of deep-freezers also meant greater choice from an ever-widening variety of prepared food from the late 1960s.

The places where people did their shopping also changed, with some movement away from the high street and the corner shop. The growth of super- and hyper-markets and bulk frozen food shops meant that people could shop less frequently and had more time to spend on other activities.

In general the amount of starchy foods eaten such as potatoes and bread fell steadily through the 1960s and 1970s. More use was made of vegetables other than potatoes especially tinned tomatoes and frozen peas. Matching the growth in freezer ownership in the 1970s the quantities of frozen vegetables bought nearly doubled between 1970 and 1975.

Although total consumption of meat and meat products did not change dramatically from the mid-1950s, the types of meat bought did change. Consumption of beef fell through most of the 1960s and early 1970s but began to rise again in the mid-1970s. Consumption of mutton, lamb, bacon and ham also fell but there were increases in the consumption of pork and, especially, poultry. The quantities of chicken eaten by people in households increased eight-fold between 1957 and 1978. Consumption of fish fell from the 1950s as the price of fish rose and some types of fish became scarce.

In 1951 the amounts of butter and cheese eaten were relatively low, and of margarine relatively high. By the mid-1950s people used, on average, equal amounts of butter and margarine. In the second half of the 1950s the use of butter increased, that of margarine fell, but by the early 1970s the patterns were reversed. The consumption of eggs reached a peak in the mid-1960s.

From the early 1960s people were drinking less tea, although estimates for 1978 suggest that tea drinking was on the increase. Consumption of instant coffee rose steadily from the 1960s when instant coffee became widely available until 1977 when big price increases caused people to cut down, but it rose again in the following year. There were differing consumption patterns for different types of household.

Meals Eaten Outside the Home

In the early 1950s about half the population almost never ate meals away from home. From then there was an increase in the use of work and school canteens. In 1977 over half of all meals bought away from home were taken at midday – suggesting the use of canteens at work and at school.

Between the early 1950s and the 1970s the pattern of take-away food shops altered. Fish and chip, tripe, jellied eel, and pie shops were to some extent being replaced by Chinese and Indian food takeaways and, in the 1970s, by hamburger restaurants where food could be eaten on the premises or taken away.

Quality of Diet

As fewer people undertook heavy manual work and more took up sedentary employment so the amounts of energy they needed fell. In general, throughout the period people consumed more than they required to meet their nutritional needs. The higher the household income, and the smaller the household, the greater was the excess of intake over needs. There is some evidence that large households and pensioners with low incomes were not getting enough of some vitamins, protein or iron in at least some years since 1951. There were also changes in patterns of food consumption as certain types of food were linked with ill health. In the 1970s there were moves away from eating butter and other animal fats to margarine and vegetable fats (see above), from sugar to sugar substitutes, and from white bread to wholemeal and wheatmeal bread. There were also increases in the quantities of 'health' foods and foods without non-natural additives. Other changes in diet which were not promoted solely on grounds of health included the increasing use, in the 1970s, of relatively cheap and versatile soya protein as a substitute for meat and other food.

Alcohol

The quantity of alcohol that people consumed rose substantially from the 1950s and the proportion of households' expenditure that went on alcohol rose, even though alcoholic drinks became cheaper in real terms as the period progressed.

The number of off-licences increased, with an especially large increase in the number of licensed supermarkets. By 1977, 40 per cent of supermarkets were licensed to sell alcohol.

A high proportion of beer – 88 per cent in 1977 – was drunk in pubs but relatively less spirits – about 40 per cent. Following the removal of excise duty in 1974 there was an expansion of the home brewing market. Beer remained the most popular alcoholic drink throughout the period with an average of nearly 3 litres a week being drunk by each adult in 1978. This was almost half as much again as was consumed in 1951. It became more common to drink wine with meals at home, as well as in restaurants. The amount of spirits consumed also doubled over the period.

Throughout the period the majority of people drank at least occasionally. Particular features of the 1970s were the increase in the number of young people drinking, increasing numbers of road accidents associated with drinking, and increasing convictions for drunkenness offences.

Tobacco

During the 1960s and 1970s there was increasing concern about the harmful effects of tobacco smoking. In the early 1950s about 60 per cent of men and 40 per cent of women smoked cigarettes. Following the publication of the report *Smoking and Health* by the Royal College of Physicians in 1962 there was a fall in the proportion of men who smoked cigarettes to about 45 per cent in the 1970s, but for women there was little change.

Among cigarette smokers average consumption increased, although there were signs that this increase was beginning to stop in the late 1970s, but with the progressive switching to filter cigarettes the weight of tobacco used in each cigarette fell. Advertising of cigarettes was banned on television in 1965; a government health warning printed on all cigarette packets was introduced in 1971; and a new code of advertising practice was introduced in 1976. Government measures were also introduced to assess and publish the tar and nicotine content of different brands of cigarettes. Cigarettes made from tobacco substitutes were introduced in 1977 but there was no general switch to them. Throughout the period there was little evidence of changes in the proportions of men and women smoking other types of tobacco products.

Housing

After food, housing was the most important item

of expenditure and increased steadily as a proportion of household expenditure from the 1950s.

In 1947, 45 per cent of all households lived in terraced houses, about 30 per cent in semi-detached houses, and about 12 per cent in flats or tenements, and the remaining 13 per cent lived in detached houses. During the 1960s there were changes in the types of houses that were built, particularly in the public sector. Local authorities began to increase building of high-rise flats of more than five storeys in densely populated areas. The building of these flats declined considerably in the 1970s, and in 1978 accounted for only 2 per cent of all completions. Local authorities also began to provide for the special housing needs of the increasing numbers of the elderly and of the handicapped. By 1977, in Great Britain, the pattern of the types of housing in which people lived had changed: 28 per cent lived in terraced houses, 32 per cent in semi-detached houses, 22 per cent in flats or maisonettes and 17 per cent in detached houses. There were considerable regional differences, with a much higher proportion – 45 per cent – living in flats or maisonettes in Scotland.

Tenure

In 1951 the most common form of tenure was privately rented accommodation – less than 30 per cent of households were owner-occupiers. In 1961 the figure had risen to 40 per cent and by 1978 it was over 50 per cent. There was also an increase in the numbers of households living in accommodation provided by local authorities.

Amenities

Standards of housing changed over the period. In 1951, about 38 per cent of households in Great Britain were without the use of a fixed bath, and 8 per cent were completely without an inside or outside toilet. Improvements took place in the 1960s and the 1970s, although in 1977, 4 per cent of households still were without a bath or shower, and 4 per cent did not have an inside toilet. Nevertheless about 90 per cent of households had the sole use of all the basic amenities.

Housing Density

As the income of people rose, so households moved out of densely populated areas into the suburbs where they were usually able to buy more space – both inside and outside their homes. Local authorities also became more aware of the necessity to plan urban and rural development, and to provide facilities – such as parks and recreation areas – for households living in new developments.

In 1951, 24 per cent of households with five or more people were living at a ratio of more than one and a half people per room. By the mid-1960s the situation had improved and the figure was 7 per cent, declining further in the 1970s until by 1977 it was 2 per cent.

Home Improvements

As households became better off, some chose to extend their existing homes rather than moving house in order to gain more space. In 1962 almost 52,000 applications for domestic garages and lockups, and more than 85,000 applications for all 'other' classes of building (excluding new development) which included extensions to private property such as porches, sun lounges, or extra rooms were successful. By 1975-76, the number of such successful applications for 'other' classes of building had increased by nearly 90 per cent. Another area of growth in the 1970s was in the home improvement sector of the do-it-yourself market. Households spent over £1,000 million (at current prices) in 1978 on do-it-yourself products – paint and wallpaper probably accounted for about a third of this.

Heating

The proportion of homes with central heating increased steadily during the late 1960s and 1970s. In 1964, 11 per cent of households in England and Wales had either full or partial central heating. In 1971 this was 35 per cent, rising to over 50 per cent in 1977. With the growth of central heating there were changes in the kinds of fuel used. In particular there were moves away from the use of solid fuels such as coal towards cleaner fuels such as gas and electricity.

Clothing

There was a general relaxation in the formality of dress, both in and out of working time. Fewer men in sedentary jobs felt obliged to wear suits, or other formal clothing, at work; and, except perhaps in the City of London, the bowler hat virtually disappeared. There were many changes in styles and fashions particularly for young people. One area of growth was in the number of people wearing jeans. In the year up to June 1978 it was estimated that 44 million pairs of jeans were bought and that four in every ten people bought at least one pair of jeans in those 12 months. Nylon tights for women were also a growth industry from the time they became available in the early 1960s.

The range of man-made fabrics available for clothes widened enormously. In the early 1950s there were very few man-made fabrics and nylon was the one mainly used for clothing. Technological development led to fabrics which could be washed in a machine, which needed little or no ironing and which were virtually uncrushable.

Spending on clothes as a proportion of all household expenditure fell from the 1950s but there were changes in the proportion of expenditure on clothing for men, women and children. In the late 1950s the proportion of expenditure on both men's and women's clothing fell a little but rose again in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1977 women spent about half as much again as men on clothing. Households' expenditure on children's clothes rose as a proportion of all clothing expenditure – from 10 per cent in 1953-54 to 14 per cent in 1977.

Footwear was a major item in household budgets throughout the period from the 1950s to the 1970s – about 20 per cent of expenditure on clothing and footwear.

Transport and Communications

In the early 1950s public road and rail transport was the most usual means of travel. Public road transport suffered a steady decline in use from 83,000 million passenger kilometres in 1951 to 53,000 million in 1977. Rail travel remained about the same in terms of distance travelled although the nature of the journeys by rail probably changed; fewer people travelled by train in the 1970s although those who did travelled longer distances, especially as people lived further away from their work.

Domestic air travel was in the early stages of development in the 1950s and accounted for only a very small proportion of passenger distance travelled. Between 1961 and 1971 such travel doubled from 1,000 million to 2,000 million passenger kilometres but increased by only 5 per cent between 1971 and 1975.

Private Transport

The biggest change was in travel in private road vehicles. The distance travelled by people in private road vehicles (including taxis and business travel) increased three-fold between 1951 and 1961 and doubled again from 1961 to 1977. In 1977 about 57 per cent of households had the use of a car compared with 33 per cent in 1947, a higher proportion than in any previous year. There were still certain groups of households which did not have access to a car – less than a quarter of elderly households had one in 1977. In the same year the proportion of households with more than one car was 11 per cent.

People also used bicycles, scooters and motorcycles. About 34 per cent of people had the use of a bicycle in 1950, but the distance travelled by people on bicycles halved between 1951 and 1961, and fell further until 1974, when a small increase in the use of bicycles began. The proportion of people using scooters and motorcycles similarly fell until the early 1970s when, partly because of rising fuel costs, they began to increase in popularity.

To some extent the use of private cars and motorcycles has been increased by cuts in the provision of public transport. The rail network was cut by some 20 per cent between 1963 and 1967.

Roads

The increased use of private motor cars was matched by increases in the total length and in the quality of roads. In 1959 the first main motorway was opened to traffic; by the mid-1960s there were some 600 km; and by 1977 nearly 2,300 km. By 1977 there were over 2,500 km of dual carriageway all-purpose trunk roads, an increase of about 900 km since the late 1960s.

Transport Costs

The cost of rail and bus fares increased by some 50 per cent in real terms between 1951 and 1977 whereas the cost of private motor cars rose by smaller amounts and the average price and running costs of new and second-hand cars fell in real terms between 1951 and 1977.

Telecommunications

Because of technical developments the cost of making a telephone call fell in relation to prices generally, and incomes. The number of dwellings with a private telephone increased from 1·5 million in 1951 and 4·2 million in 1966, to 11·7 million in 1978 when 57 per cent of households had a telephone. Elderly and low-income households were more likely to be without a telephone. As the telephone network grew, and telex came into being in the 1950s, the number of telegrams sent fell.

Direct-dialling was first introduced on internal trunk calls in 1958 and covered almost all parts of Britain by 1975; it was introduced on trans-atlantic networks in 1970. The first telecommunications satellite, *Telstar*, launched in 1962, and later satellites enabled television pictures to be sent live to and from most parts of the world.

In the late 1970s information systems, such as Prestel, were introduced by which a wide range of information could be displayed on specially adapted television sets.

Running the Home

A significant feature of the post-war period was the increase in the proportion of households either owning or having access to labour-saving durable goods. The most common were vacuum cleaners, refrigerators and washing machines. In 1956 about 8 per cent of households had refrigerators. This increased rapidly to 33 per cent in 1962, and to around 90 per cent in 1978. Other appliances began to be more widely used in the 1970s; in 1978 about 75 per cent of households had washing machines; 40 per cent had deep freezers, but only 4 per cent had dishwashers, and even fewer had sinks fitted with waste disposal units. There were changes in the access to durable goods for people who could not afford to buy them. In particular, there was a growth in the number of launderettes in the early 1970s.

In 1977, households with children were more likely to have washing machines and refrigerators than other households, and elderly households the least likely to have them. Even so 63 per cent of such households had refrigerators and 47 per cent had washing machines in 1976.

Use of Time

The proportion of people's time spent in employment changed in various ways as the post-war years progressed. There were changes in the working habits of people over retirement age. Between 1951 and 1977 the proportion of elderly men working full-time fell, but the proportion of elderly women with a full-time or part-time job rose. Working people's entitlement to paid holiday, and the number of public holidays increased also.

For people at work there was a reduction in the number of hours that they worked each week from 48 hours a week, in 1951, for a man in full-time manual employment, to 44 hours by 1978. At the same time the average weekly hours worked by women fell. Fewer people employed in manufacturing worked on Saturdays, although

people who worked in shops and places such as leisure centres tended to work more hours at weekends.

Leisure Activities

The ways in which people spent their non-working time changed. In the early 1950s only a small proportion of households had television sets, but the number increased rapidly throughout the 1950s, reached 75 per cent in 1961, and by 1978 was over 90 per cent. Colour television became available on a large scale in the late 1960s, and by 1976 over half of those households with television had a colour set.

In the late 1960s and 1970s the number of hours that people watched television a week increased from 16 hours a week in February 1967 to 20 hours in February 1979. As television became more popular it began to replace other activities, such as going to the cinema. The biggest drop in cinema audiences occurred during the 1950s when television was experiencing rapid growth in popularity. As cinema audiences declined so cinemas closed or were converted to multi-screen houses. Cinema-going continued to be popular among young people, however, and in 1978 admissions actually increased by about 10 per cent over the previous year.

Other Home Entertainment

Perhaps the other major development affecting people's leisure activities was the transistor which made possible the production of a cheap, portable battery-run radio. Other changes affecting listening habits were the use of long-playing records and the development of magnetic tapes and cassettes. Music and other sounds could also be recorded and reproduced in stereophonic and in quadrophonic sound.

Still and cine cameras came within the reach of more and more people, and, more recently, video-recorders came on to the market, enabling the recording and replaying of television pictures. Television games (electronic devices making use of the television screen), portable and miniature television sets and in the 1970s solid-state television sets also became available.

Reading

Between 1961 and 1977 the amount of money spent on books rose by 25 per cent in real terms, although the amount spent by households was on average small – just above 1 per cent of their total expenditure. People also made more use of public libraries in the 1970s than in the 1960s.

The popularity and sales of daily newspapers fell. The number of national daily newspapers in circulation fell from 12 in 1957 to ten by the end of the 1970s. In 1950 about 80 per cent of adults read a national daily newspaper, and about 90 per cent a national Sunday newspaper. By 1978 the corresponding figures were 72 and 81 per cent respectively. There was a similar fall in the proportion of people reading women's and general weekly magazines, although the sales of some monthly magazines relating to particular hobbies or interests rose.

Sporting Events

In the 1950s watching sport 'live' was a more popular pastime than it now is: there were 78 million spectators in 1951 at the three most popular events – football, horse-racing and cricket – but in 1976 there were only 36 million. Apart from television, the fall may have been caused by an increased interest in alternative sports and activities, rising costs and the increased hooliganism at football matches.

Comparatively few people took an active part in sport although the proportion rose in the ten years up to 1977. In 1977 less than 20 per cent of adults in households regularly took part in a formal sport. The most popular were swimming, golf, fishing, football and table-tennis.

Gambling and Bingo

In the 1950s there were no casinos or bingo clubs, and almost all commercial gaming was illegal although forms of betting like football pools and betting on horse-racing were well established. Changes in the law in 1960 marked the beginning of commercial gaming in bingo clubs and casinos. In 1976, over £7,000 million was staked in casinos, on football pools and bingo, in slot machines and in on- and off-course betting. Over half of this was staked in casinos although less than 1 per cent of adults gambled there.

The rapid growth of commercial bingo was helped by the decline in cinema audiences which made available large numbers of premises for the game.

Holidays

Holiday entitlements for men and women in employment rose steadily from the 1950s and 1960s. By 1977, nearly all manual workers had a basic holiday entitlement of at least three weeks and a third to four weeks or more. Public holidays amounted to another eight days' holiday in 1979.

About 60 per cent of adults went away on holiday in 1977, a slightly larger proportion than in the 1960s. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s about 20 per cent of holidaymakers went abroad compared with less than 10 per cent in the 1950s and early 1960s. The increase in holidays abroad was influenced by a number of factors: the growth of the 'package' holiday industry, television, and the rising value of real incomes.

The type of accommodation that people used while on holiday changed. In the 1950s and early 1960s most people stayed with friends or relatives, or in a hotel, while on holiday. At the beginning of the 1970s there was a shift towards camping, caravanning, and self-catering holidays. The length of time that people spent on any one holiday fell during the period. In 1966 the average length of a holiday was 15 days; by 1977 it was 11 days. However, there was a trend towards people taking more than one holiday each year during the 1970s.

Unspent Income–Savings

As the post-war years progressed, people put aside increasingly higher proportions of their incomes in some form of savings. In 1951 individuals saved on average less than 2 per cent of

their disposable incomes. By 1960 this proportion was 7 per cent, and by 1978, 14 per cent, although there were fluctuations over the period.

In the early 1950s the dominant form of savings was National Savings. In 1950-51 the balance of savings in the National Savings movement was £23,000 million (at 1975 prices). By 1977-78 National Savings had declined in importance, and this balance stood at £11,000 million. Over the same period, building society deposits and shares rose from under £5,000 million to £24,000 million in 1977 (at 1975 prices). The number of depositors and shareholders increased eight-fold and the amount of money lent by building societies in the form of mortgages rose from £6,000 million in 1950 to £26,000 million in 1978 (at 1975 house prices). The increase in building society depositors was more marked in the 1970s than in the 1950s and 1960s.

House purchase was another form of saving for an increasing proportion of people and gave tax advantages when money was borrowed for a purchase. As there were usually similar advantages to be gained by holding a life assurance policy this also became an increasingly popular means of saving. In 1950 there were about 8·5 million ordinary life assurance policies in force with a premium income of £800 million. By 1973 there were about 21 million such policies and premium income had risen to over £2,000 million (at 1975 prices). In general the importance of stocks and shares as a form of saving declined over the period, although increasing numbers of people bought unit trusts in the 1970s; and indirect holdings of stocks and shares through pension funds and insurance companies increased.

The increase in both home ownership and state and occupational pension rights had an important effect on the patterns of wealth holding and led to some lessening of the inequality of the distribution of wealth holding.

Public Services – Education and Health

As well as benefits in the form of cash payments households also received 'benefits in kind' mainly in the form of health and education services. Because such benefits are not allocated in money amounts, their contribution to household incomes cannot be measured directly.

Education

A notable feature of the post-war period was the increasing proportion of children spending time in education both before and after the compulsory school years.

In 1951 about 11 per cent of children aged three and four had some sort of formal education, compared with 16 per cent in 1961 and 37 per cent in 1977. At the other end of the age range, in the late 1950s about 10 per cent of 17- and 18- year olds were continuing their education compared with 12 per cent in 1961 and 25 per cent in 1977.

Demographic changes before and during the post-war period also affected the demand for education services. While the numbers of school children increased in the 1950s and 1960s the numbers of trained teachers rose at a greater rate and the ratio of pupils to teachers fell. Changes also took place in the methods of teaching used, with increased ranges of visual and other aids for teachers in the mid-1960s and 1970s, and the move away from selective to comprehensive schools in the late 1960s and 1970s. From the 1960s a decreasing proportion of children went to private fee-paying schools.

Increasing numbers of people attended higher education establishments such as universities and polytechnics. In 1951-52 about 120,000 men and women were doing some kind of full-time advanced education course. By 1958-59 there were about 150,000; the number reached 300,000 in 1966-67 and rose to about 470,000 by 1976-77.

The number doing part-time advanced courses similarly increased, especially among women. There have always been more applicants than places available for courses at the Open University which started recruiting students in 1970.

Public expenditure on education rose steadily in real terms throughout the period, partly as a result of changes in the child population, but also because of increases in provision of nursery and further and higher education, and improvements in the standard of the provision.

The estimated level of education benefits to households with children doubled in real terms in the 1960s and 1970s. There were also increased amounts of education benefits going into adult education and to households without children.

Health

The health services cover a wide range of provision including general medical, dental and ophthalmic care, as well as hospital services, and community health services.

As the National Health Service (NHS) developed, the number of staff employed rose. In 1955 there were about 200,000 hospital staff; the numbers increased steadily and by 1976 had doubled. During this period the personal social services, administered by local authorities and providing facilities particularly for children, the handicapped, and the elderly, also increased considerably.

In the early years of the NHS there were some important developments in the drugs available for use in treatment and these meant that certain types of illness became easier to treat or prevent. The increased use of some drugs caused concern in the 1970s. For example, in 1977, 25 million prescriptions in the tranquilliser therapeutic category were dispensed compared with 16 million in 1967. There were also improvements in the ratios of qualified medical personnel to potential patients.

Parts of the services were devoted to prevention or early detection of illness through vaccination programmes and other measures such as chest X-ray units. Free contraceptive advice and assistance became available under the NHS in 1976. From 1968, when the Abortion Act 1967 came into effect, the number of women having legal abortions, both under the NHS and privately, rose, though it levelled off after 1973.

One of the aims of the NHS was to enable all

women who were having their first babies to go into hospital to deliver them. In 1960, 66 per cent of all births were in hospital; by 1977, 98 per cent were, and almost all women who were having their first babies had the confinement in hospital.

The average length of time that people spent in hospital fell, and the average number of patients in hospital each day fell from over 450,000 in 1961 to under 400,000 in 1977, excluding women who were having babies in hospital. The number of people waiting for hospital treatment fluctuated, though overall there was an increase in the 1970s. Fewer people suffered strokes in the 1970s but more people had cancer and heart disease. Mainly because of intensive vaccination programmes, the numbers of people suffering from infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, and poliomyelitis fell dramatically.

The real value of health benefits accruing to households increased by 5 per cent each year on average between 1961 and 1975. The increase in such benefits was greater for households with children. Because of the rise in the numbers of elderly people in the population they received a larger share of all benefits throughout the 1960s and 1970s. An increased proportion of employees and their families were given some sort of security of income from their employers if they fell ill. In the 1970s there was a growth in the proportion of employees covered by income protection insurance and private medical insurance schemes.

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